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President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany)

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. CASTAÑEDA (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like first of all to extend my sincerest congratulations to the President of the General Assembly on his election to this important post. The Permanent Representative to the United Nations of a great country, the Federal Republic of Germany, which with Mexico maintains very close relations of friendship and fruitful co-operation, Mr. von Wechmar has on the basis of his personal qualifications gained the admiration and the respect of all.

2. I also wish to greet the President of the thirty-fourth session, Mr. Salim Salim, whom I congratulate on his brilliant performance not only at the preceding session of the Assembly but also during the special sessions that were convened during his term of office.

3. On the occasion of its recent admission to membership of the Organization, we wish to welcome the young Republic of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, with which we are linked geographically by bonds which are destined to become even stronger in the future.

4. Several weeks ago, at the eleventh special session, we expressed our delight at the admission of Zimbabwe to membership of the Organization.

5. We cannot at this time fail to refer to the conflict between Iraq and Iran, which is causing us the greatest anxiety. The United Nations, and the Security Council, must attempt forthwith to find a just solution. That is why Norway and Mexico have requested a formal meeting of the Security Council to allow it to exercise the authority vested

in it under the Charter. In so doing, we believe that we have reflected the wish of the international community as a whole and, at the same time, fulfilled our responsibility as Members of the Organization.

6. We are, of course, aware of the attempts at mediation being undertaken in other forums and we wish them every success; but that does not absolve the Security Council from discharging its primary duty of maintaining peace.

7. The international situation has worsened considerably in the past year and a half. New dangerous international hotbeds of tension have appeared, threatening peace in the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, Central America and the Caribbean, the Middle East, South-East Asia and even Europe, where the situation had been stable for several years. It has so far been possible to prevent internal crises from degenerating into international conflicts or the latter from becoming generalized, even though all these crises are fraught with serious dangers.

8. The most serious aspect of this situation is that it has led to a new climate of tension and antagonism and of attitudes that can be termed hostile and even belligerent. This new climate has brought about not only a halt to, but also a clear reversal of the process of détente, which had steadily gained strength during the last two decades.

9. Relations among European countries had become stable, especially since the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany, on the one hand, and the German Democratic Republic and the other countries of Eastern Europe, on the other, so much so that active and fruitful co-operation in all areas had been initiated in that region, one which only a few years earlier had been the most dangerous centre of tension. It would seem that an objective basis for peace, reconciliation and security had been established, one which was specifically embodied in the Helsinki Final Act,¹ which led to prospects of broader co-operation and even a reversal in the stockpiling of weapons in Central Europe.

10. Relations between the super-Powers, never friendly, had nevertheless reached a level which made it possible for them to agree either specifically or tacitly on a number of issues in different fields, including the political and military; that had a decisive stabilizing effect throughout the world. Mankind was very hopeful when the SALT II Treaty² was signed, an agreement which, in spite of its limitations, was perhaps for the first time in history a serious attempt to put an end to the senseless and continuous arms escalation. That

¹ Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed on 1 August 1975.

² Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

agreement meant, above all, that Governments had finally come to realize what the people already knew, that is, that the increase and improvement of weapons by one party irrevocably led to an escalation by another and that that, far from strengthening the real security of anyone, actually weakened it. This new conviction was to be the basis for the SALT III negotiations, to be held for the purpose of finally undertaking a process of gradual and balanced arms reduction. Peace, fragile and precarious in the 1950s, seemed to become ever stronger.

11. Today, everything has changed. Suddenly, and without any apparent motive, the difficult achievements of the last 20 years seem to be fading away. The dialogue has stopped or has assumed harder tones. The military balance in Central Europe is being questioned, with the emplacement of nuclear weapons in that region. The future of the SALT II Treaty is undecided. Even worse, the clearly absurd and dangerous thesis is advanced that there can be victors in a nuclear conflict. I believe that if a nuclear war were to occur, the survivors would envy the fate of the dead.

12. The major Powers demand respect for their spheres of influence as if that were a right, and they even invade them, forgetting that the inhabitants of those areas are the only ones who have the right to self-determination and that geographic proximity does not create any rights or confer on others a mandate to defend the areas from real or imaginary dangers, and particularly not the right to intervene in the settlement of their domestic problems.

13. The revolutionary struggles of peoples to shed dictatorial yokes and to choose an internal system suited to their aspirations are viewed and appraised in the context of a global ideological and political struggle which distorts the natural expression of the rational forces at play, through the assistance which the major Powers give to the faction which comes the closest to their global political and strategic interests. This has taken place in all continents but, of course, Mexico is particularly concerned when it takes place in Central America and the Caribbean.

14. The struggle of some peoples of Central America and the Caribbean to free themselves from tyrannies or to change obsolete economic and social structures has contributed to bringing about a new political situation in that area, to which not all countries interested in the area have been able to adjust.

15. Mexico has followed these developments closely with concern, but also with optimism: with concern because the increase of internal tensions in that part of the world cannot but affect us; with optimism because there are real prospects which enable us to think that such tensions can be limited and that there could be a positive outcome if the major Powers decided not to distort the natural historical process.

16. The policy of the Government of Mexico in that area has precisely been aimed at contributing to the reduction of tension. As a guide to our action, we have taken the following considerations into account: first, recognition that the new situation obtaining in the area is the result of the legitimate struggle of peoples to change archaic and anachronistic structures of power and domination; secondly, defence of the right of peoples to choose the form of politi-

cal, economic and social organization best suited to their aspirations; thirdly, full respect for the principle of non-interference; and, fourthly, open dialogue with all countries of the area. These struggles of peoples cannot be considered as part of an ideological or political competition among the super-Powers. Further still, the military presence of those Powers in the region, in whatever form, merely contributes to increasing tension.

17. This approach has enabled Mexico to maintain and develop close relations with all the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean, in particular with those which have been or could be subjected to a certain degree of isolation. The constant dialogue with those countries, at the very highest level, despite the obvious differences between the political, economic and social systems of Mexico and some of theirs, has led to a better understanding based on mutual trust and respect. In brief, we understand the political process under way, we respect it and we have therefore adjusted to the new situation which obtains in the region.

18. The Government of Mexico is hopeful about indications that other countries also are seeking formulas along those lines. We can only express our hope that those formulas—which reveal statesmanlike vision, as in the case of the present assistance of the Government of the United States to the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua or the wise decision not to intervene militarily at the time Somoza was overthrown—may extend to other parts of the region. What happened in Nicaragua is the best proof of the fact that if a people is allowed to decide its own fate without outside interference from one side or another, the solution it will find will be the best one not only for it but for the international community as a whole.

19. In the economic field Mexico has tried to help in the solution of the serious problems which are faced by countries of the area. The agreement on oil supplies and financial facilities recently signed by President José López Portillo of Mexico and President Luis Herrera Campíns of Venezuela is part of the broader effort at a world-wide rationalization of energy which was proposed by the President of Mexico. We believe that this type of concrete action, however limited and modest, may provide real solutions and may reduce the possibilities of confrontation and conflict which exist in that region.

20. A new geopolitical concept has emerged which, although inadmissible and spurious, is being put forward as the most natural thing in the world: not only are there zones of influence near the great Powers that are subjected to their protection, but there is beginning to be talk now of “zones of vital interest”, perhaps thousands of kilometres away, but over which there is also a claim to exercise the right of protection.

21. All these forms of domination and subjugation which have appeared recently not only are contrary to the international order established by the Charter but are obsolete, and that is their worst defect. Contemporary international society must find standards and formulas that may govern relations among all States, whether small, medium-sized or large, wealthy or poor, belonging to the West or to the East, and these must be in keeping with the conditions and aspirations of present international society; no attempt should be

made to revive solutions which were valid in the nineteenth century and at the turn of the century. History does not repeat itself.

22. The causes of this strange and sudden deterioration of the international situation are not well understood, nor can its effects be foreseen. Perhaps we still lack the necessary historical perspective; but there is no doubt that a new climate of cold war now exists, with all the dangers it entails.

23. Positive events have also occurred in recent times. The trend towards peace and détente, which was clearly manifest in the 1960s and the 1970s, is too powerful and too deep; it coincides with the interests of the peoples to such an extent that it is impossible to destroy through errors of judgement or circumstantial occurrences or even through resistance, which we hope is transitory, to changes in the *status quo* in international economic relations.

24. The peoples' awareness has grown in recent years. Groups of countries, and even countries individually, are today convinced that the interests of their regional groups, and even their own national interests, do not always coincide with those of the major political and military blocs they belong to. This identification of autonomous and specific interests has largely led to a true multipolarity of world power. This was clearly seen this past year in Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Latin America, Africa and Asia. The diversification of independent political attitudes is something that we consider to be a healthy and positive phenomenon. As President López Portillo recently stated, Mexico wishes to have a worthy place in the world; it wishes to stand in the world and not to have a seat in a sphere of influence. It seems to me that this attitude, in addition to being intrinsically valid for every country, in the final analysis fosters regional and world peace.

25. It is also fair to recognize that in this recent period, in spite of manifest hostility, statesmen of the two major Powers have shown restraint and prudence, in the face of the provocations and temptations that have arisen. While some serious problems dividing the two super-Powers are still outstanding, we think that, precisely as a contribution to their possible solution, it would be useful and desirable for the two leaders to meet early next year. The United Nations should encourage and facilitate such a meeting, in keeping with its best traditions, in order to signify and symbolize the interest of all mankind in the reduction of international tension. Along the same lines, I would express best wishes for the outcome of the second review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to be held at Madrid, for the purpose of reducing international tension.

26. I believe that everyone recognizes the important role that some non-aligned countries have been playing since the end of the 1950s. They encouraged and facilitated the dialogue between the two blocs, in the middle of a cold war, and they truly built bridges between them. Later on, as détente gained ground between the West and the East and dialogue was restored, the main effort of the non-aligned countries focused on the process of decolonization and on trying to improve the economic situation of countries struggling for their full development.

27. Today, faced with a re-emergence of the cold war, an effort is required similar to the initiatives those countries and their distinguished leaders took 20 years ago; but it will be necessary to adapt these efforts to the new circumstances of contemporary international society, particularly with regard to the relative degree of policentrism which is its characteristic. Today some countries, irrespective of the political or regional groups they may belong to, irrespective of their ideologies and of whether they are rich and developed or developing, large or medium-sized, could unite and pool their efforts at the international level. Their concerted action could be exercised in the political field in favour of détente, as well as in the economic field in favour of a more just international order. I believe that the essential requirement to enable their actions to be effective would be that they be countries that have shown an independent attitude, to the extent that that is possible today, and countries that because of their size, population, wealth, activities, prestige or other factors have a certain pre-eminence in international affairs. These would be some of the so-called medium-sized Powers. Their number is changing. Obviously, no one is thinking of a recognized grouping, even less of an organization. We are merely speaking of the possibility of such countries acquiring greater awareness of the fact that their interests as members of the international community are relatively similar and that co-operation among them should be closer for the benefit of certain causes.

28. The negotiations conducted this past year on co-operation for development have not yielded the expected results. While a consensus was reached on the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [see A/35/464], it was impossible to reach significant agreement on the items to be dealt with in the global negotiations or on the manner in which to negotiate them. One would say that some Governments of the industrialized world have no other view or objective than that of maintaining the existing order, without any changes or adjustments other than those necessary for a return to the golden times prior to 1973, when their economies were expanding thanks to cheap and assured sources of energy, and without much importance being attached to the developing economies, which continued to deteriorate.

29. This attitude does not take into account the fact that a new objective situation has emerged in the world and that the developing countries have acquired a new awareness of the problem and its root causes. The firm solidarity, unexpected by some, which has been maintained since 1973 between the exporters of oil and the developing consumer countries, which are the ones that have suffered most from the price increases, should lead the industrialized Powers to reflect on the necessity to negotiate seriously with a view to establishing new and more just bases for international economic relations. There is a growing awareness, shared by Governments and independent personalities, that that is the only possible way in which to prevent the vast crisis which is approaching.

30. It has also been suggested recently that in order to promote negotiations, it would be necessary to hold one or more meetings of a small group, which would none the less be sufficiently representative of heads of Government, to bring North-South relations out of the present deadlock, to

act as a catalyst to encourage more effective negotiations and to respond imaginatively to the crisis in the world economy. The purpose of those meetings would be to express a specific political will to establish certain minimum bases of agreement to support the series of global negotiations to be held within the United Nations. That is why in this context and together with other Governments Mexico has been exploring the possibility of holding a high-level political meeting early next year. We believe that every possible formula should be explored and every opportunity taken for making progress. That is the only motive behind the efforts that have been made at present by the Government of my country.

31. An important element of the complex economic situation in the world today is the question of energy, which obviously cannot be approached, much less negotiated, in isolation but only as an integral part of a broader group of questions.

32. Rationalization of the international handling of energy sources cannot be delayed. Without that it would be impossible for developing countries to attain their objective of accelerated and sustained growth; and it would be impossible for advanced countries to restore their dynamics of growth.

33. A year ago, in this same forum, President López Portillo of Mexico invited the international community³ to undertake, as part of the vast effort to change the prevailing international economic order, the preparation and adoption of a world plan for energy which would ensure an orderly, progressive, integrated and just transition from the present energy structure—based on the sometimes wasteful utilization of the most rapidly exhaustible fossil fuels, especially oil—to the future, sustained, rational, orderly and progressive utilization of new and renewable alternative sources of energy, which could be of benefit to all mankind, within a system of shared responsibility and a more just and equitable world economic order.

34. In no way did the Mexican proposal concerning energy suggest that this question be dealt with in isolation, but rather as it related dynamically to other structural changes in the international economy. It did not suggest a limited discussion on prices and supplies between producers and consumers, but rather broad international negotiations, in which all would participate, dealing with long-term questions relating to the transition in the field of energy. Nor did it counsel dealing in particular with the main source of energy at present, that is, oil, but rather taking a global approach to all energy sources.

35. One year after that energy proposal was submitted, we see that it has had an influence on the debates and decisions on the new International Development Strategy and on the as yet inconclusive decision on the programme and procedures for the global negotiations. My country remains convinced—and a growing number of nations share this conviction—that changing the present unjust system of international economic relations requires far-reaching global decisions in the field of energy of benefit to all and binding upon all.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 11th meeting, paras. 2-73.

36. Among the most encouraging events of recent times is the agreement reached, after ten years of hard efforts, at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Except for minor outstanding issues, an important draft convention has been completed governing all uses of the sea and its resources.⁴ This ambitious undertaking, as stated in the preamble to the draft convention, represents an important contribution to the maintenance of peace, justice and progress for all peoples of the world, as well as to the attainment of an equitable international economic order.

37. Despite the vast divergence of interests and political and legal views of the various groups of States, it was possible to attain those impressive results. The draft convention will not totally satisfy anyone, but it is acceptable to all or almost all. The alternative—that is, failure—would have been tantamount to anarchy and confrontation. This experience shows that the problems of the world, difficult though they may seem, can be solved when the participants give overriding importance to the overall long-term community interests instead of to immediate national interests.

38. In conclusion, I wish to reiterate our view about what is at this time the main concern of peoples and Governments: the maintenance of a just peace permitting progress for all States. To this end we must dispel the threats that are hanging over mankind at the dawn of the 1980s. Intervention in defence of “vital interests” must disappear from the practice and even the language of today’s international relations. Let us not forget that while those “interests” were identified with geographical areas yesterday, today they are being identified with energy sources, and tomorrow those same interests could be invoked in connection with food and other raw materials.

39. The unilateral defence of vital interests—whoever might invoke them and whatever the euphemism used to cloak them—whenever they affected the fate of other peoples would be tantamount to accepting a new colonialism in which the weakest would be the exclusive preserve of the strongest. No “vital interest” can or could ever justify the domination of one people over another. The only vital interest everyone has is peace.

40. Mr. FOLLE MARTÍNEZ (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to extend to you my warm congratulations on your election to conduct the proceedings of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, a difficult task that you will undoubtedly perform with the skill and brilliance that have characterized your long diplomatic career. I should also like to express our gratitude and warm appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, for the splendid way in which he conducted the debates of the Assembly during his term of office.

41. We cannot fail to point out with great satisfaction that this is the first session of the General Assembly in which the independent State of Zimbabwe, which we welcome most warmly, is participating. As the delegations of my country have stated in every forum, we hope that after so many sacrifices and expectations, that new Republic will build

⁴ Document A/CONF.62/WP.10/Rev.3 and Corr.1 and 3 and Rev.2/Add.1.

itself up in peace and progress by carrying out a true national integration that will exemplify the principles of racial tolerance and solidarity that inspire the United Nations.

42. Similarly, we express our satisfaction at the admission of the new independent State of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, also a member of our regional group, to whom we extend a warm welcome.

43. We come to this thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly in a spirit of peace and confidence yet fully aware of the seriousness of the problems that the world is facing and of the great sense of responsibility that these problems demand from all peoples, those still on the road to development as well as those that have already achieved their full development, the latter perhaps bearing for that very reason a greater share of that responsibility.

44. In the first place, I should like to point out that for my Government, a careful examination of current world problems allows us to perceive three fundamental points clearly.

45. First, the world is facing a general crisis, in which all social, political, economic and cultural factors are involved. That is the case whether or not we wish it to be so.

46. Secondly, embroiled in this overall crisis, the world has tried to correct some of its aspects piecemeal, by attacking them singly, as if they were unrelated and independent phenomena. That approach conceals and minimizes problems and leads to the failure of the solutions that are sought.

47. Thirdly, today it is possible clearly to perceive the true character of the enemy that we must face and the means to combat it. If the crisis is a general one, a general strategy is required to overcome it. The measures to be adopted in the various sectors must be integrated and co-ordinated.

48. As a logical consequence of this, we must admit that without an extensive imaginative effort in which the collective conscience of mankind finds the means sincerely and freely to motivate the constructive and collective political will of every State, contemporary problems will not be overcome without a cataclysm in which perhaps a great part of mankind will perish, but from which all the peoples of the earth will certainly suffer.

49. We are encouraged in our optimism by an unyielding faith in God, in the first place, and, secondly, in the fate of mankind, and by the many voices that have been raised to say as much, and in the simple fact that we are assembled here to have a dialogue. That optimism, however, does not dispel our concern. We are worried by the lack of political decisions by the developed industrial powers to take the decisive steps required to implement the many projects and resolutions that have been drawn up in recent decades, in the knowledge that they were of vital importance, as well as to heed the outcry of weak peoples who knock at their doors.

50. The recent report entitled *The Global 2000 Report to the President*,⁵ in the preparation of which the entire scientific, technical, research and information potential of the

United States has been tapped, contains in its 800 explosive pages enough material to make the world ponder, should other sources of inspiration be needed, on the urgent need to face those vital problems on a universal scale, once and for all, with seriousness and, above all, with responsibility. The report warns us bluntly and with many examples that unless nations take collectively and individually daring and imaginative steps the world must expect severe upheavals upon entering the twenty-first century—a prediction on which all the great minds of our time agree.

51. We should like to single out among the various fields of action some of the main subjects concerning which it seems to us that the necessary measures and steps to implement them must be taken forthwith, or which are crucial points that deserve special attention.

52. The political evolution of the world during the year that has elapsed since we first came to this rostrum at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly⁶ has given us more than sufficient reason to reassert what we said then about the impossibility of isolating peoples, on the need to strengthen the necessary bonds that unite the international community and the role of universal solidarity as an imperative for world survival.

53. Peace is more than ever the primary goal of international law, because we now know that it is also the basic condition for survival. And peace will not be attained or maintained unless the vital and pressing problems of all the members of the international community, even the humblest, are solved and unless the riches on our planet are distributed fairly, unhampered by boundaries. There can be no peace without justice. There can be no justice without law. And the supremacy of law is the result of a balance in which there is great respect for certain fundamental spiritual values of coexistence, as well as the adaptation of the legal system to contemporary world realities.

54. On the long road to peace, general and complete disarmament is an ideal goal that is not only a means but also an end. The steps taken towards disarmament, however small, will make a powerful contribution to the strengthening of peace. That goal clearly presupposes an earlier spiritual disarmament, understanding and tolerance among all peoples, and the satisfaction of the legitimate aspirations of all. Whether an end or a means, the economic and environmental connotations of disarmament are such that my Government believes it to be incumbent on all peoples to fight tirelessly to achieve progress in that area. My country's meagre military potential does not inhibit it from placing all the moral weight that it possesses as a State and as a law-abiding nation at the service of that ideal, even denouncing the folly of squandering fantastic sums on death, while denying even minimal amounts for the environment and for development, which represent life.

55. We know perfectly well that it will be very difficult to achieve spectacular overall solutions in matters related to the blindest and deepest passions of men. We are ready to agree realistically to a partial and gradual approach to positive solutions, but we emphatically reaffirm the need to

⁵ Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1980.

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 8th meeting, paras. 279-346.

condemn straightforwardly all forms of biological war, destruction or poisoning of ecosystems and all attempts to modify the climate as an instrument of aggression.

56. In that sense, the extension of the achievements of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco) through the creation of nuclear-free zones in other parts of the world such as the Middle East, southern Asia and Africa seems to us an effective means by which to move further ahead in that area.

57. Since the partition of Palestine, which the United Nations doubtless conceived as a means of bringing a Solomonian peace to that region, the Middle East has gradually become a powderkeg charged with threats to world peace which increase as the years go by.

58. The attitude of friendship towards the people of Israel that my Government has traditionally shown is well known. It has been manifested throughout the years, in constant support of what could be considered the legitimate aspirations of the Jewish people. We do not hesitate today to reaffirm that friendship and our conviction that the State of Israel must secure just and lasting peace with its neighbours and respect for its existence within secure and recognized borders.

59. But the irreversible reality of Israel cannot blur another reality which is also irreversible and not incompatible with the first one—the existence of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, which was once asked to sacrifice its national identity, in open defiance of the principle of self-determination, which is one of the fundamental pillars of the United Nations system. Thus, faithful to the traditional principles of our international policy, we support unreservedly the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to settle in its own land and establish a free and independent State according to the decision adopted in the exercise of its sovereign will.

60. My country is convinced that the solution to this long-standing and painful problem can be found only by means of dialogue and negotiation, in which the Palestinian people have their own spokesmen. We therefore condemn violence and the adoption of unilateral measures which hinder the peaceful and lawful solution of the problem.

61. With regard to Lebanon, last year we reiterated the appeal which we had made for concrete and definitive solutions which would guarantee to this people whose culture and tradition are admirable its integrity and its right to live in peace.⁷ At that time we thought that that appeal, supported by all peace-loving peoples, would be answered during the course of that year. It is a matter of profound regret that the tragedy of the Middle East has engulfed as one of its victims that small and gracious nation, which is linked to our own in so many ways.

62. Once again we make the same appeal, and we earnestly hope that Lebanon will recover its peace and stability.

63. Uruguay, which is tenacious and firm in defending the right to self-determination of peoples, has consistently supported the right of the people of Namibia to attain its

independence, freely to determine the political system which it may wish to adopt and to choose its leaders without foreign pressures and within a climate of peace, under the guarantee of the temporary administration of the United Nations.

64. With respect to human rights, it is inevitable that, in view of the strong influence of law in my country, in the history of which regard for law is a constant which has brought us through every difficult phase and juncture, we consider real and deep respect for what are called human rights as a world-wide political phenomenon and a substantial step towards the implementation of a new international law, in which mankind is recognized as a valid subject of law. We believe, however, that, if we wish human rights to pass beyond the state of rhetoric and become tangible and active values in international life, they must not be used as an instrument for political struggle among States or groups with different social and economic philosophies.

65. It is very difficult for the supremacy of law to be safeguarded and to see the possibility of the consistent implementation of human rights as long as we continue to witness the paradox of countries and doctrines that in practice deny freedom, ignore the most elementary rights inherent in the dignity of man and violate all the principles that constitute the achievements of the modern world, and that also attempt to judge the behaviour of other States and social groups which have had to defend themselves from insidious and criminal subversive movements, very often inspired and financed by those same countries. Whether we like it or not, in the struggle against anarchy and organized crime there are, as a consequence of human fallibility, unfortunate but inevitable breaches of those sacred rights.

66. My country is making every possible effort to ensure the maintenance of those rights, despite the resolute internal struggle which it has been forced to undertake, and we are advancing daily towards the full normalization of democratic institutions. Unfortunately, in the domestic sphere of many States contempt for human rights has become normal practice, officially imposed by totalitarian systems, which condemn millions of men to live in spiritual and material conditions which are profoundly harmful to their natural dignity.

67. While this is taking place on the domestic level, at the international level we witness with profound concern the notorious increase of terrorism. Violence and crime have taken the place of dialogue and discussion as a means of political expression and seem to have become one of the characteristics of our time. Once again I wish to state on behalf of my Government that we shall support every collective measure which is submitted and adopted to fight the scourge of terrorism, which is not only in itself disgusting and shameful but also liable to encourage violence and the inevitable hardening of the attitude of institutional machinery and the social groups attacked, with inevitable damage to the respect for human rights which we all wish to secure.

68. My Government wishes to reiterate its fundamental opposition to the policy of *apartheid* and all forms of racism. This position is based on political and moral considerations which are part of a clear philosophy derived from our

⁷ *Ibid.*, para. 314.

deepest cultural traditions. In that regard, our country will cast its vote for all instruments which condemn *apartheid*.

69. My Government believes that exchange of information is an essential part of modern life and that modern technical means must be fully utilized to facilitate not only the exchange of information but also communication among men and peoples and the dissemination of education and culture.

70. Nevertheless, we must bear in mind the danger that certain aspects of that modern technique may entail for freedom, institutional stability and the cultural identity of peoples. The availability of powerful modern means of spreading culture must be secured for every country and the community of nations must prevent their use to interfere in the internal affairs of States. It must also try to preserve the wealth of national diversity.

71. With regard to the law of the sea, the ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which was held this year, achieved meaningful progress in the unprecedented efforts on the part of the international community to work out a new legal order for the sea based on recognition of the sovereign rights and the jurisdiction of coastal States in seas adjacent to their coasts up to a limit of 200 miles and on the Continental Shelf, respect for *jus communicationis*, the orderly and peaceful use of maritime spaces, the rational exploitation of its resources, the protection and preservation of the marine environment, co-operation in the development of scientific research and the administration of the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond national jurisdiction by an international authority endowed with the appropriate power to organize and control all activities in the exploration and exploitation of the resources and to establish a production policy in that area, which is the common heritage of mankind, the resources of which can only be used under the protection of an international system, that is, a system established with the consent of the international community as representative of mankind.

72. The present stage of the negotiations enables us to predict that once generally accepted formulas on some still pending matters have been found and final adjustments to the texts have been made, the work of the Conference is to culminate in the adoption of a convention at Caracas in 1981. The peoples' expectations can no longer be delayed. The last stretch demands a final effort of good will, especially on the part of the industrialized Powers, in order to reach the goal whose attainment will be, without any doubt, a most important factor for the stability of international relations and the consolidation of world peace.

73. The Government of Uruguay cannot but point out once again that the principle of the common heritage of mankind is an imperative rule of international law which does not admit, consequently, of limited agreements or unilateral decisions that contravene it, such as the laws which some States have passed or intend to pass to authorize their nationals to carry out the exploitation of the resources of the international area. Such laws violate that principle and have no validity in the international community. Uruguay deplores such conduct and rejects any attempt to exert pressure on the Conference that such conduct might entail.

74. The new law of the sea, including both the customary law that has arisen from the generalized practice of States and the law that will be embodied in the convention, offers a great challenge, especially to the developing countries, in terms of their full assumption of responsibilities directly related to the well-being and advancement of their peoples, with the opening of new horizons for employment, study and research for youth and with the most active participation and co-operation for the establishment of a new international economic order. The United Nations and the specialized agencies concerned must be prepared as of now to offer developing countries the invaluable service of helping them fully to assume those responsibilities within the framework established by them in the pursuit of their national objectives.

75. Very soon we will compromise the tenth anniversary of the United Nations Conference on the Environment, held at Stockholm in 1972, which symbolized the awakening of the world's attention to this very serious problem of the accelerated destruction of the environment. The importance and seriousness of the problem, instead of decreasing during these eight years, has only grown. Just as in the economic sphere, the words of warning uttered by wise men and experts have not been heeded and the seeds they have sown have yielded only rhetorical fruit. The measures which have been recommended and even decided upon in many international forums are not being implemented and the expectations for the future, unless destructive trends are stopped and the process is reversed, cannot be favourable.

76. Nevertheless, there are certain grounds for optimism because the problem is coming to its climax and the persistent and efficient efforts of specialized international organizations and of the thinking *élite* in the preparation of projects and plans to correct the deterioration in all its complex aspects are gradually convincing Governments and those responsible for the leadership of peoples of the need to take radical and imaginative measures. On the other hand, the environmental problem has had a positive influence by revealing the essential oneness among men and among all the elements of nature.

77. The report of the Governing Council of UNEP on its eighth session [4/35/25] shows that work has been done and is being done well. It is now up to the Governments to implement the recommendations.

78. We should like to point out two of the subjects discussed in Nairobi which we find particularly important.

79. The first one deals with the World Conservation Strategy, the result of three years of work by a select group of scientists of universal renown under the guidance of the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources and with the endorsement of UNESCO, FAO and UNEP.

80. This remarkable document effectively reconciles conservation and development, presents a clear and sensible definition of priorities and convincingly indicates the urgent need to preserve the living resources of the planet on which, ultimately, the survival of mankind depends. All this comes together with adequate and pragmatic machinery which places at the disposal of Governments the necessary techni-

cal and legal tools to carry out in a practical and efficient manner a good conservation policy. Now we must go from words to action and allocate the necessary funds, negotiate bilateral and multilateral financial aid and at the same time offer UNEP and the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources the sustained support that will permit the practical and progressive adoption of their plans.

81. The second point we wish to emphasize is also related to the effective application of environmental policy, the need for which seems not to have been fully grasped. We are referring to the world meeting on environmental law preparatory to the tenth session of the Governing Council of UNEP, which all States Members of the United Nations will attend. At this solemn meeting the tenth anniversary of the Stockholm Conference will be commemorated and an assessment will be made of all that has been achieved up to now and what remains to be done in such a delicate matter. With regard to those achievements, the elaboration and consolidation of an appropriate legal framework is fundamental for the effective finalization of a policy in which so far theoretical statements have not been lacking, but for which the adequate institutional and legal instruments to put it into practice do not yet exist. Uruguay is proud of the fact that it is planned to hold this important preparatory meeting in Montevideo, whose legal tradition is thus honoured by the holding of such a transcendental event in the field of law.

82. We have no reason to feel free from the worries which have been expressed in this forum for several consecutive years concerning the world economic situation. On the contrary, it continues to deteriorate and that deterioration is accelerating and becoming more acute. This is dangerous because the peoples' frustration is a seed-bed of violence. We emphatically stated the same concern a short time ago at the eleventh special session of the General Assembly.⁸ The persistence of recession and inflation, the increase in unemployment, exchange instability, maladjustments in the balance of payments in industrialized countries, protectionist pressures and, to sum up, the whole negative syndrome in which the inability of those countries to adopt political decisions in keeping with the magnitude of the global crisis hinders the economic progress of developing countries.

83. The essential characteristic of the contemporary world economic system is the growing interdependence of all the peoples of the world, an interdependence which is in the process of accelerated intensification. It is obvious that we cannot find solutions in a policy of isolated blocs. Without the overall world economic approach that also calls for a long-term overall economic policy, it will be very difficult to overcome the serious problems of the present situation that overwhelm the peoples of the developing world, as well as those in developed countries. That collective and efficient approach requires an optimization of the allocation of productive resources. This also implies a redistribution and relocation of industries in accordance with the competitive capacity of each country, a general opening of the economies to secure an effective role for competition, and a strategy that will cover all the areas of development without excluding any key sector.

84. My country, like many other developing countries, is trying to apply those same principles at home, in an attempt to achieve production in those sectors in which it has a comparative advantage. The opening of our economies to the outside world would thus contribute to the sound development of the world economy through a rational distribution of productive activity, while respecting the comparative advantage of the various participants in the system. These principles are usually enunciated and defended in theory by the industrialized countries. Unfortunately, they do not put into practice what they advocate in theory, and apply protectionist policies that militate against the weaker countries and which, in the end, damage the world economy as a whole.

85. This situation has an adverse effect on countries which, like mine, face the typical problems of a small market economy. After many years of trying a development system based on a domestic market, which proved inadequate because it did not permit an optimum allocation of resources, we decided to base our development process on open economy principles as part of a more dynamic and competitive market, the international market.

86. Another point we wish to make relates to development of food and agricultural production. Consideration of this question cannot be separated from that of trade, in view of the detrimental effects of protectionist barriers on efficient food production in the developing countries. The world situation, in this respect, is frankly alarming; hence we endorse all measures that the international community may adopt in favour of a new world food order, which, in our view, is a pre-condition for any new international economic order.

87. In confronting this gigantic task, we feel legitimate concern over the growing trend towards protectionism on the part of the industrialized countries, which seriously limits and can cancel out the benefits of the option. The detrimental effects of this phenomenon cannot be underestimated. Where the developing countries prepare themselves to compete in international markets according to the laws of a market economy and their efforts are artificially rendered ineffective by protectionist measures—which often take the form of non-tariff barriers imposed on specious grounds—the access of those countries to international markets is made impossible, and all the mechanisms which regulate those markets are largely distorted. All this is aggravated by the policies of subsidies and “dumping”, which offset all comparative advantages enjoyed by the developing countries, especially in food production. Obviously, this policy runs counter to all the proposed incentives for food production in the world, and to recognition of the need to provide facilities to those countries so that they can achieve sustained development and thus alleviate dangerous international tensions.

88. Developing countries are still suffering acutely from the problems derived from the energy crisis ever since the marked increase in oil prices in 1973. Uruguay, which totally lacks this resource, is one of the Latin American countries that have suffered the most as a result of the serious impact of the oil price increase on its overall imports and on its industrialization process. Our deepest concern relates to the need to create machinery to ensure minimum supplies at

⁸ *Ibid.*, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 12th meeting.

reasonable prices, efficient use of this resource, the search for alternative sources and co-ordination of acceptable special financing. The overriding need to develop a coherent world energy policy based on a concept of inexorable solidarity among all countries and on their right to have an equitable share of the world's natural resources is one of the most urgent imperatives of this decade—an imperative which must be supplemented by intensive research efforts in this field by those countries able to do so. Such efforts must be geared to finding alternative solutions for the day, all too near, when oil is exhausted. It is to be hoped that these concerns will be reflected at the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, to be held in August 1981 at Nairobi. Should that Conference fail to face this crucial subject realistically and pragmatically, a rude blow will be dealt to the expectations of mankind, which views this energy problem as one of the most serious and immediate threats to its present and future well-being.

89. We have observed with satisfaction the favourable attitude among developing countries towards energy co-operation that is being carried out at various levels. The members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] have established an ambitious programme to guarantee oil supplies to the developing world and have come up with a preferential system of prices and financing indexed to each country's degree of development. The same trend has been noticed at the regional level, too, a result of which is the historic agreement between Venezuela and Mexico to co-operate in this field with the Central American and Caribbean countries, as well as the proposal of the President of Mexico at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly—a proposal warmly supported by my country.

90. It is vital to ensure the transition of the present-day economy, which is based on hydrocarbons, to an economy based essentially on new and renewable energy sources.

91. Uruguay attaches particular importance to the problems of science and technology, because the attainment of development on a sound basis is impossible without the establishment of an endogenous capacity in this field. To that end, we hope that the resolutions of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held at Vienna last year,⁹ will be implemented.

92. My country has participated actively in discussions of the subject of economic and technical co-operation among developing countries, a fundamental component of the new international economic order inspired by the principles enshrined in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)]. We note with satisfaction the various efforts being made to implement the Arusha Programme for Collective Self-Reliance, adopted by the Group of 77,¹⁰ and especially the first short-term and medium-term plan of action on global priorities for economic co-operation among developing countries. It has

already been decided to negotiate a global system of trade preferences in the Group of 77, as well as to identify practical agreements on marketing and operations that Governments may oversee directly. It is of great importance that the Group of 77 has this year, for the first time, included on its agenda the question of energy within the framework of economic co-operation among developing countries. It has been agreed that trade, various sources and forms of energy, raw materials, foodstuffs, technology and other related matters should be considered by the Group of 77 in a consistent and integrated way.

93. There is no doubt that the developing countries have ample means to establish new and valuable forms of horizontal co-operation, and when their vast resources begin to be mobilized there will ensue great transformations for the well-being of our countries and the world economy as a whole.

94. All of the measures relating to the various subjects we are considering must, we repeat, be included within the framework of a vigorous policy of international redistribution of labour, ensuring the transfer of technology to developing countries and consequently their industrialization. In that policy, attention to short-term problems that are immediately vital is as important and inescapable as complementary attention to long-term problems, because without solutions of that nature all the rest will be nothing but an ineffective palliative for permanent needs and will jeopardize the future of peoples.

95. We do not wish to end this statement without expressing our discouragement at the inability to achieve during the eleventh special session of the General Assembly the consensus necessary to approve all the proposals submitted for its consideration. Unfortunately for all the countries of the world, that session has passed into history as a setback on the long, hard road the developing countries have set out upon towards the establishment of a new international economic order. Once again we have missed an excellent opportunity to show our peoples the important results that can be achieved through international co-operation. Even so, it is an important historic duty for the General Assembly at this session to continue with decisiveness the efforts that have been begun to initiate global negotiations planned for 12 January next, and to adopt the International Development Strategy for the 1980s.

96. Before closing I wish to express my Government's appreciation and recognition of the efforts of the Secretary-General, assisted by his staff, in carrying out his important task by paying efficient and untiring attention to the many complex problems—some of them particularly delicate—that he has had to face within the area of competence of the Organization.

97. I wish to reiterate our unwavering adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter, with which the international policy of my country fully concurs, our faith in its permanent and ever contemporary applicability, and our hope that the serious threats to international peace and security which hover over the horizon like dark clouds and the various obstacles to the full development of harmonious and mutually respectful relations among all nations based

⁹ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20-31 August 1979* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21 and corrigendum), chap. VI, sect. A.

¹⁰ *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), annex VI.

on justice will be overcome through the joint efforts of all in this Organization and the tenacious and unceasing application of the means and instruments available to the Organization for the implementation of its lofty and noble objectives which are identical with those of civilization. Uruguay commits all its material resources and the rich patrimony of its spiritual forces to the confirmation of that faith and the realization of that hope.

98. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Allow me, Sir, to congratulate you sincerely on your unanimous election to the lofty post of President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I am sure that your many talents and rich experience will help you to make a valuable contribution to the work of this session.

99. I would also join previous speakers in paying a tribute to Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim for the work he did as President of the thirty-fourth session and of the special sessions of the General Assembly.

100. Our delegation would like to take this opportunity heartily to congratulate Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on its admission to membership of the United Nations.

101. The present session of the General Assembly is being held at the juncture of two decades, in the year of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the victory of the forces of peace and socialism over fascism and militarism. In our view, that fact will help us properly to concentrate on the main issues of the present world political situation in terms of drawing the necessary lessons from the past and correctly defining the tasks of the international community in implementing the aims and purposes of the Charter and strengthening peace and international co-operation.

102. During the last three and a half decades since the end of the Second World War, positive profound changes have taken place in world development. This is primarily related to the creation of the world socialist system and the steady growth of its might, and to the historic successes achieved by the forces of national and social liberation. In this connection our delegation wishes specifically to underline the historic importance of military and strategic parity that has been attained by the socialist world with the West with the purpose of ensuring a peaceful future for mankind.

103. The 1970s are significant in that the "cold war" policy was overcome, relaxation of international tension ensued and the principle of peaceful coexistence of States having different social systems was further confirmed.

104. On the other hand, recent events provide clear evidence that the forces of imperialism and reaction refuse to put up with the strengthening of the positions of socialism and the progressive changes occurring in the world. They are desperately trying by every means to hinder the objective course of history, and they have set for themselves the adventurist goal of obtaining military superiority over the socialist world, which is the main bulwark of the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and progress. They have embarked upon a course of unprecedented escalation of the arms race and of undermining the very foundations of international détente.

105. Of particular danger to the cause of peace is the decision of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] to produce and deploy in Western Europe the new American medium-range nuclear weapons, as well as the creation by the United States of the so-called rapid deployment forces designed to commit acts of aggression in various parts of the world. A long-term programme of increasing the military expenditure of the NATO countries has been adopted.

106. Moreover, the United States recently adopted what is called Presidential Directive 59, which in essence advocates the concept of so-called limited nuclear warfare, and the possibility of using nuclear weapons and the permissibility of waging nuclear war have begun to be discussed with dangerous frivolity at high official levels in that country.

107. The reactionary forces are carrying out their actions against peace, security, freedom and the independence of peoples under the false pretext of fighting against a bogus "Soviet military threat", and they are thus grossly distorting the peace-loving nature of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist community, which fully conforms to the vital interests of all mankind.

108. The particular danger of the present situation lies in the active collusion of the forces of imperialism and hegemonism based on anti-Sovietism—in other words, based on hostility to the cause of the national and social liberation of peoples. Beijing's anti-socialist, anti-Soviet course encourages the most reactionary forces of imperialism and abets the new outburst of aggressiveness and adventurist trends in their actions.

109. Nevertheless, imperialism and reaction are today being countered by the forces of peace, democracy and socialism, which are able appropriately to rebuff their intrigues. There exist objective conditions which will not permit a return to the "cold war" and would forestall the danger of a nuclear conflict. The growing economic and defence potential of true socialism and its ever-increasing international influence serve as a reliable bulwark in the struggle of peoples to strengthen peace and international co-operation. The World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace now being held in Sofia, the capital of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, is a particular case demonstrating the immense scope of this struggle. Representatives of more than 130 States and 100 public organizations are discussing there such vital issues as strengthening peace, developing international co-operation and disarmament, and so on.

110. Détente has become more deeply rooted in international relations and real conditions exist for it to remain as the prevailing tendency. This is demonstrated, in particular, by the results of the meetings and talks held by Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, with President Giscard d'Estaing, of France, last May and subsequently by the leaders of the Soviet Union with those of the Federal Republic of Germany. The Mongolian delegation is of the view that, in the light of the adventurist actions of the ultra-reactionary forces of imperialism and hegemonism, the outcome of these meetings acquires particular importance.

111. The Mongolian People's Republic, like other socialist States, believes that the strengthening of détente will not come about by itself. Détente will be preserved and strengthened only in a resolute and persistent struggle by the forces defending the cause of peace, national independence and social progress.

112. The first material condition for strengthening détente and peace is to halt the arms race and move towards genuine disarmament. These objectives should be achieved by preserving the existing military and strategic parity on the basis of steadily declining arsenals of weapons and on that basis of strict observance of the principles of equal security for all sides.

113. The numerous constructive initiatives of the socialist countries are aimed at the achievement of these goals. These initiatives as a whole have been reaffirmed and further developed in the declaration and the statement of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty of 15 May 1980 [see A/35/237-S/13948].

114. The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty have proposed to begin practical negotiations immediately and, where negotiations have commenced, to complete them effectively in order to reach agreements on concrete measures on a wide range of problems, starting with the reduction of the military budgets of the big Powers and coming to such important measures as full and comprehensive prohibition of nuclear weapons testing, halting the production of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of nuclear stockpiles until their complete elimination, prohibition of the creation of new types and systems of mass destruction, banning of chemical weapons and eliminating existing stockpiles and prohibition of radiological weapons and others.

115. In the field of political measures, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty have proposed the convening of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe and the holding in the near future of a summit meeting of the leaders of States of all the regions of the world for the purpose of considering the problems of eliminating the hotbeds of international tension and preventing war. They have also put forward concrete proposals aimed at making the forthcoming meeting at Madrid a success, so that its outcome will confirm and articulate in practice the provisions of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

116. In its statement of 20 May this year the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic fully supported these initiatives as a new constructive contribution by the Warsaw Treaty Organization to the cause of strengthening peace and security and developing international co-operation in Europe and throughout the world.

117. These constructive steps of the socialist countries have recently been effectively supplemented by a new exceptionally important initiative of the Soviet Union that talks be started forthwith on the question of medium-range nuclear weapons, organically connecting it with that of American forward-based nuclear weapons. The Mongolian delegation is of the view that the other side should display a constructive approach to this vitally important issue.

Mr. Ortiz Sanz (Bolivia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

118. The proposal for the item entitled "Urgent measures for reducing the danger of war" [item 121], submitted by the Soviet delegation on 23 September this year for consideration at the current session of the General Assembly [see A/35/241], contains the most concrete and practical proposals relating to renunciation of the expansion of military and political groupings, the increase of armed forces and conventional weapons and relating also to the strengthening of security guarantees of non-nuclear States and reaching an agreement on a general and comprehensive ban on nuclear-weapon tests. The proposed measures are of an urgent and pressing character. The Mongolian delegation believes that the General Assembly is duty bound to undertake concrete measures based on the provisions of the draft resolution proposed by the Soviet delegation [*ibid.*, annex].

119. The good will and determination of the socialist States effectively to promote military détente are being supported by practical measures. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, like other peace-loving forces, considers that the unilateral withdrawal by the Soviet Union from the territory of the German Democratic Republic of 20,000 troops, 1,000 tanks and other military equipment is of paramount importance for the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust, which is so vital to the realization of measures to reduce military confrontation in Europe. Similarly, the Mongolian People's Republic commends the new proposals of the socialist countries parties to the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe. As the main measure in the first stage, it is being proposed that the armed forces of the United States and the USSR stationed in Central Europe be reduced by 13,000 and 20,000 troops respectively.

120. The conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations is of great importance for strengthening détente, the security of States and the creation of favourable conditions for halting the arms race and for disarmament.

121. It is in the same spirit that the Mongolian People's Republic supports the proposal of the non-aligned countries to draft a declaration on non-interference in the internal affairs of States.¹¹ The activation of expansionist and hegemonistic forces is making this issue particularly pressing.

122. Turning to regional measures for strengthening the security of States, my delegation would like to emphasize that the struggle for turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace—where the United States of America continues to step up its military presence—is acquiring particular urgency. The Conference on the Indian Ocean to be held in 1981 should pronounce itself with utmost clarity on the key issue, namely the elimination of military bases in that region.

123. On the specific problems of halting the arms race and disarmament, the Mongolian delegation would like to emphasize the enormous military and political significance

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 46, document A/34/827, para. 9.

of the speedy ratification of the Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, SALT II. The United States should heed the will of the international community, which demands the earliest ratification of that treaty. Our delegation further emphasizes the urgency of the problem of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The actions of those circles which not only failed to accede to this important instrument but also did everything to provoke and encourage others to acquire nuclear weapons arouse serious concern throughout the world community. The situation is aggravated by the fact that the aggressive régimes of Tel Aviv and Pretoria as well as some other circles do not conceal their intention to acquire that weapon of mass destruction. We deem it necessary that additional effective measures be taken to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. A positive assessment can be made of the Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which, having reaffirmed the importance and viability of the Treaty and the need to ensure its universality, has favoured a further strengthening of the non-proliferation régime.

124. We support the prohibition of radiological weapons and express the hope that the Committee on Disarmament will be able at its next session to complete the elaboration of an appropriate draft convention.

125. The problem of banning chemical weapons is becoming more urgent in view of the continuing reports of the intentions of certain Western countries, under various false pretexts, to improve this weapon of mass destruction and increase its production. We hope that the firm intention expressed by the Soviet Union and the United States in the Committee on Disarmament to continue their persistent efforts in the search for mutually acceptable solutions to the problem of prohibiting chemical weapons will help to clear the way towards attaining this vital goal.

126. The arms race not only has enormous negative socio-economic consequences, it also results in devastating effects on the environment as well. Today, when the testing of different types of weapons, including nuclear weapons, is still being carried out in the world, when the means of annihilation of every living being on earth are being accumulated in ever greater quantities, the question of protecting nature from the dangerous consequences brought about by the unchecked arms race becomes an urgent issue of the day.

127. It is precisely in this light that the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic sees the primary importance of the new agenda item entitled "Historical responsibility of States for the preservation of nature for present and future generations" [item 120], proposed by the Soviet Union, and fully supports this initiative. The adoption by the General Assembly of a resolution, the draft of which was proposed by the Soviet delegation [see A/35/194], would be an important step in the development of international co-operation, in protecting nature on our planet, and in limiting and eliminating the pernicious consequences of the arms race on nature.

128. The Mongolian People's Republic, as before, supports the early convening of the World Disarmament Conference and favours the extension of the mandate and the

enhancing of the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the World Disarmament Conference.

129. The international situation in Asia is being influenced by various forces. The prevailing feature of the political life on that vast continent is the further strengthening of the positions of the forces of peace, international co-operation, national independence and social progress.

130. Socialist and revolutionary democratic gains are being further consolidated in the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Fraternal co-operation and interaction by the Soviet Union and other socialist States of Asia have a most favourable effect on the political situation on the continent. A positive role is played by the peace-loving policy and realistic positions of many other countries of Asia, above all the Republic of India.

131. On the other hand, the forces of imperialism, hegemonism and militarism are intensifying their dangerous activities on that continent. The ruling circles of the United States are working towards formalizing a kind of triple alliance directed against the socialist countries, the forces of national and social liberation, against all that is progressive, just and reasonable.

132. The Mongolian People's Republic, which 35 years ago made its contribution to the restoration of peace in Asia and the Far East, calls upon the peoples of Asia to draw a lesson from the past, to be vigilant and wary of the various designs of the reactionary forces. It is a fact that while preparing for the Second World War, Fascist and militarist circles concealed their criminal actions under the false pretext of fighting against the "communist threat". It is clear to everyone that the same trick is being used today when the enemies of peace and international co-operation trumpet the non-existent "Soviet military threat" or the "threat from the North".

133. These very forces cause the further deterioration of the long-standing Middle Eastern crisis, organize the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, exert open armed and other pressures on the nations of Indo-China and flagrantly interfere in the internal affairs of the States members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations. Regrettably, there are certain circles in Asia which, to say the least, connive at such aggressive attempts to the detriment of the vital interests of peace and security of the peoples of the continent, including their own peoples.

134. The Mongolian People's Republic, as before, consistently strives for the safeguarding and consolidating of peace and security in Asia through the collective efforts of all States of the continent. The Bandung Conference convened a quarter of a century ago on the initiative of a number of Asian countries, demonstrated the objective necessity and the possibility of uniting all the interested forces on the basis of a common struggle for peace and international co-operation, for national independence and social progress. The spirit of Bandung is gaining particular relevance today.

135. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic is of the view that the speediest elimination of the hotbeds of tension and conflict is of paramount importance. The annexation of Jerusalem by Israel, its new adventures of aggression and expansion, particularly in regard to the sovereign State of Lebanon, have demonstrated anew the essence of the Camp David deal which is hostile to the cause of the Arab peoples. At the seventh emergency special session, on the Palestinian question, the Mongolian delegation once again reaffirmed the principled position of its Government on the comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem in the interest of ensuring a durable and just peace in that region.¹²

136. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic favours an immediate political settlement of the situation concerning Afghanistan which emerged as a result of intervention against that sovereign State organized by Washington and Beijing through their accomplices. The basis for such a settlement is contained in the proposals put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 14 May of this year [see A/35/238-S/13951]. Cessation of the counterrevolutionary intervention is the basic prerequisite for achieving that goal. The question of the withdrawal from the territory of Afghanistan of the limited contingent of Soviet troops could be solved in the course of a political settlement if the aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is discontinued and such discontinuance is properly guaranteed. In the General Committee, our delegation categorically opposed the discussion in the General Assembly of the so-called question regarding the situation in Afghanistan. Such a discussion would be a gross violation of the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations and constitute flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the Afghan people. No one can change the revolutionary reality irreversibly established in Afghanistan. The United Nations should not allow itself to be embroiled in such an illegal and hopeless affair.

137. As a result of the so-called parallel action of Beijing and Washington, a serious hotbed of tension has been created in South-East Asia. The frontier between Thailand and Kampuchea has been turned in reality into the borderline of yet another "undeclared war". In the light of the prevailing situation, my Government readily subscribed to the proposal of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to include in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly a vital item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia" [item 119]. It is exactly in this spirit that we fully endorse the constructive programme for the improvement of the political climate in South-East Asia put forward by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Laos, Viet Nam and Kampuchea held in July this year in Vientiane [see A/35/347].

138. We consider that only the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, which enjoys the support of the entire Kampuchean people, should occupy its rightful seat in the United Nations and in other international organizations. The very fact that Kampuchea's seat in the United Nations is occupied by people who do not represent anyone

at all cannot but undermine the prestige of this Organization.

139. The inclusion in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly of the concocted question of "The situation in Kampuchea" against the will of the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is an intolerable interference in the internal affairs of that sovereign State. It is the duty of the Organization to strive for the reduction of tension in South-East Asia and therefore resolutely to counter any manoeuvres interfering in the internal affairs of the States in the region and to promote among them a normalization of the situation and the establishment of good-neighbourly relations.

140. Our people resolutely condemn the persecution and repression being committed by the military régime of Seoul against the democratic forces in South Korea. The situation prevailing in that part of the country demands the speediest implementation of the provisions of General Assembly resolution 3390 B (XXX) which envisages dissolution of the "United Nations Command" and withdrawal from South Korea of foreign troops. The Mongolian People's Republic, as before, endorses the constructive proposals by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea directed at the reunification of Korea by peaceful means without any outside interference.

141. I cannot but express the deep concern of my delegation at the worsening armed conflict between Iran and Iraq. The interests of peace and tranquillity in that sensitive region and the well-being of the two peoples demand restraint and statesmanship on the part of the leaders of these countries to prevent a further deterioration of the situation.

142. The date of 14 December this year will mark the twentieth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. Today we welcome the emergence of the sovereign State of Zimbabwe as the most significant event of this jubilee year in the realization of the ideals of the Declaration. The initiative of the Soviet Government, which proposed to the General Assembly the adoption of that Declaration, involved the United Nations in one of the revolutionary events of the post-war period, namely, the elimination of the colonial system of imperialism.

143. The disintegration of the colonial system gave a fresh impetus to the broadening of the movement of non-aligned countries, which today plays an important role in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and for peace and international security.

144. We consider that the question of full implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on decolonization has not lost any of its urgency. This is particularly true in relation to the elimination of the colonial heritage in the political, economic, social and other spheres.

145. The vestiges of colonialism and the neo-colonialist manoeuvres of the imperialist Powers continue to poison the international atmosphere. The recent turn of events in southern Africa demonstrates that the imperialist forces

¹² *Ibid.*, Seventh Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 6th meeting.

time and again engage in attempts to preserve the colonialist and racist régimes as a stronghold for the suppression of the struggle of peoples in that region for national and social liberation.

146. The Mongolian People's Republic resolutely supports the national liberation struggle of the people of Namibia, carried on under the leadership of its legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. Likewise we stand for the strengthening of the economic embargo against the racist régime in South Africa and we support the struggle of the people of the Republic of South Africa for their political and social rights and freedoms.

147. At present the national liberation movement of the peoples is extending to new spheres of social development. It is in this light that my delegation sees the struggle of the developing countries for the establishment of a new international economic order. We share the disappointment of the developing countries that the recently held eleventh special session of the General Assembly was unable to carry out the tasks entrusted to it. The main reason for the fruitless outcome of the session was, in our view, the lack of political will on the part of certain Western countries to participate in the cause of restructuring international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. The leading Western Powers not only are unwilling to give up their privileged position in the economic relations of the capitalist system but are also trying to use it as a means of blackmail and pressure and of destabilizing the established international relations in their own selfish political interests.

148. My delegation would like to emphasize that the adoption by developing countries of progressive socio-economic reforms and the mobilization of their internal resources and potential constitute the most important prerequisite to the creation and development of independent national economies. In this we see also an important means of strengthening the position of every individual country in the struggle for the establishment of just and democratic world economic ties.

149. The Mongolian People's Republic has always attached and continues to attach great importance to the activities of the United Nations as an instrument for strengthening peace and international security and developing peaceful co-operation among nations. In the present situation of growing tension in the world that role of the Organization is still further growing. This makes it indispensable to enhance the effectiveness of its activities on the basis of strict observance of the provisions of the Charter. Conscious of this, my delegation will do its utmost to facilitate the successful completion of the work of the current session in order that it may make an important contribution to the cause of strengthening international détente and fostering an atmosphere of trust, mutual understanding and co-operation.

150. Mr. MATTHEWS (Liberia): My delegation brings greetings to the Assembly from the Government and people of Liberia under the leadership of the People's Redemption Council, chaired by Master Sergeant Samuel Kanyon Doe.

151. We congratulate Ambassador von Wechmar on his election to preside over the thirty-fifth session of the General

Assembly. His election is a manifestation of the esteem in which both he and his country are held. He can be assured of my delegation's fullest co-operation with him in the discharge of his duties.

152. His predecessor, Ambassador Salim A. Salim, has earned the deep appreciation of us all for the outstanding manner in which he conducted the affairs of the thirty-fourth session and three special sessions of the General Assembly. We, as Africans, are all proud of him for the honour he has brought to his country, the United Republic of Tanzania, and to our continent.

153. We extend sincere thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts dedicated to the cause of peace.

154. Liberia is pleased at this time to welcome Saint Vincent and the Grenadines into the United Nations. We are happy also that our sister State, Zimbabwe—which we welcomed to membership at the eleventh special session, on economic development—is actively participating with us in the work of this session. The admission of those new States brings us closer to the Organization's much-cherished goal of universality.

155. The presence of our delegation here today is confirmation enough that the days are ending when Governments can come to this forum and advocate liberty, peace, security and social justice on the international level without attaching any significance to those principles and objectives in their own countries. International peace and security must be built upon domestic harmony and tranquillity. At times, however, domestic peace can be assured only by recourse to radical changes. This the Liberian people found it necessary to do.

156. Our people could no longer endure a political system which maintained a property qualification for voting or for seeking elective office. We could no longer accept a situation in which 70 per cent of the population derived an annual *per capita* income of \$74 while 4 per cent earned \$3,500. We were tired of 90 per cent illiteracy and one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world. We found unacceptable an existence in which thousands of people in our country had never seen a hospital or a school, despite the consistent and very punctual visits of the tax collector.

157. Thus it was that on 12 April 1980 the men and women of the armed forces of Liberia, acting for the Liberian people, removed from power the True Whig Party Government because of rampant corruption, misuse of public office and gross violation of the constitutional rights of the Liberian people. The events of 12 April were the climax of a long struggle by the Liberian people to inaugurate a new society in our country. It was a struggle of the broad masses of our people: students and teachers, workers and civil servants, the urban and rural public, and, decisively, our men and women in arms. It was a struggle to secure freedom, justice, equality, human dignity, equal opportunity and full participation by all citizens in the determination of their destiny.

158. The goal of our people's strivings and the resultant revolution is not the elimination of any ethnic grouping of our society or the replacement of one group of exploiters by

another. The Liberian revolution seeks to remove the gross political, social and economic disparities by which a privileged few were able to subject the masses of our people to untold degradation. In spite of the tremendous popularity of the Liberian revolution and the massive support which the People's Redemption Council enjoys, the Council has repeatedly given assurances to the Liberian people that the armed forces will return to the barracks as soon as the deplorable conditions which led to their seizing power have been brought under control. The probability is high that this can be achieved by 1983, when the next presidential election would have fallen due.

159. Although Liberia has changed its Government, it has not changed the essential foundations of its foreign policy. Liberia's national interests, international obligations and friendships have not changed. What has changed, however, is our perception and interpretation of those interests, obligations and friendships. Our faith in the ideals and goals of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [OAU] is unshakeable.

160. Our confidence in the principles of the movement of non-aligned countries is steadfast. However, Liberia will be genuinely non-aligned. We shall vigorously resist becoming trapped in the web of super-Power rivalry. We shall not permit our country to be used as a surrogate acting for external interests. Never shall we permit our friends to determine who our enemies ought to be.

161. We adhere to the principle of self-determination and the right of every people to determine its own political, economic and social systems without outside interference of any kind. Our commitment to the total liberation of Africa from colonialism, *apartheid* and other forms of discrimination and exploitation remains firm. We shall encourage greater emphasis on inter-African co-operation, while the safeguarding of our national interests shall remain paramount.

162. The free enterprise system, based on the private investment of domestic and foreign capital, will be maintained, while investors will be encouraged to show a greater sense of social responsibility. We shall continue to promote genuine partnership between domestic capital, public as well as private, and foreign investment through our open-door policy. We condemn the exploitation and the diversion of the resources of our people to uses other than for their advancement.

163. Having said that much about the Liberian revolution, I should like to make a few comments on some of the items on the agenda of this session.

164. South Africa remains an implacable enemy of African freedom and independence. By outright defiance and by one subterfuge after another it continues to pit its will against the international community over Namibia's transition to independence. Worse, South Africa continues unlawfully to use Namibia for committing incessant and unprovoked acts of aggression against neighbouring African States, while, on the home front, its *apartheid* policy has become even more vicious, strengthened by massive assistance in military aid and technology from its friends abroad.

165. From all indications, it is clear that South Africa will never end its occupation of Namibia nor abandon its racist *apartheid* policy without the intensification of the liberation struggle within South Africa and the imposition by the Organization of enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter. The United Nations must, therefore, reaffirm and demonstrate its support for the people of South Africa and Namibia in their struggle to free themselves from oppression and the brutal and dehumanizing system of *apartheid*.

166. The situation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea suggests that the small States are exposed to dangerous threats to their independence and sovereignty if the principles of the Charter that offer them protection can be flouted with impunity at any time a major power chooses. If the credibility of the Organization is to be maintained, it must condemn any violation of the Charter, regardless of which State is responsible for the breach, and despite the pretext that State may advance.

167. The situation in the Middle East remains one of the greatest threats to international peace and security in our time. Liberia has consistently followed, and continues to follow, a policy based on the following: first, that a just and lasting peace cannot prevail in the Middle East without due recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to a State of their own; secondly, Israel must completely withdraw from all occupied Arab lands; and, thirdly, all States in the region, including Israel, have a right to live freely within secured and internationally recognized boundaries, with the fullest respect for their territorial integrity and sovereignty.

168. Acceptance of those principles by many States has not produced peace while, for many others, the attainment of peace is a pre-condition for the acceptance of those principles. Thus, deadlock and stalemate persist in the Middle East, where grave threats to the peace of the world have already broken into open hostilities.

169. Against that background those who have advanced or supported agreements, even though partial ones, that are aimed at breaking the deadlock do serve the cause of peace. For us one thing is certain: that problem cannot be resolved peacefully unless communication and dialogue between and among all those desirous of effecting peaceful change can occur. For that reason, my Government believes that the time has come for all States that have severed diplomatic links with Israel to begin a re-examination of their policy with a view to the establishment of some links, however limited, that would facilitate communication. For us, that re-examination seems all the more appropriate since our sister African State, Egypt, in whose support our diplomatic ties with Israel were severed, has now established formal ties with that country.

170. The outstanding success of the country of the current President of the General Assembly in the years since the United Nations was founded demonstrates what can happen when nations devote their energies to peace. The lessons of that example ought to be marked by all of us during this year when the Federal Republic of Germany presides over the General Assembly.

171. Mr. INONGA LOKONGO L'OME (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): First of all I should like on behalf of the delegation of Zaire, and in my personal capacity, to extend to Mr. von Wechmar heartfelt congratulations on his election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I am particularly glad to see presiding over the General Assembly the representative of a friendly country with which the Republic of Zaire enjoys excellent relations of co-operation. Mr. von Wechmar's eminent qualities as a statesman, together with his great experience of international problems, are for us the earnest of success in our deliberations.

172. I should like also to pay a special tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, who discharged his duties with such mastery in a very delicate international situation. Throughout his term of office, he embodied with remarkable distinction the truly African meaning of dynamic compromise and the will for peace of our continent.

173. I could not pass over in silence the constant efforts extended by the Secretary-General for the cause of peace and the achievement of the primary mission of the United Nations.

174. The birth of a new State is always an occasion for rejoicing; its free accession to membership of the United Nations gives us reason to hope, because it brings us ever closer to the goal of universality that we pursue. Hence I should like today to welcome the arrival in the international arena of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, which in acceding to independence has swelled the ranks of free nations. May it find in this environment the peace and security necessary to consolidate its freedom and to implement its development programmes.

175. The thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly has opened in an international context marked by tension and conflicts which breed disquiet, insecurity, anguish and distrust in international relations.

176. The results of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, which has just ended, have not denied or invalidated that fact. The failure of that special session, in which we had placed great hopes, is ascribable only to the developed and industrialized countries, which did not demonstrate a real political will for change. That attitude is pregnant with threats to international peace and security.

177. Indeed, peace and the survival of the world necessarily entail sharing world prosperity, compensating for the natural inequalities and redressing the structural inequalities, and the union of all in a new ethic of solidarity. If the eleventh special session now appears to some as an abortive rendezvous with history, it is because that truth was not understood by some of our major partners.

178. My delegation considers that some institutions and international organizations should be more understanding and open-minded towards problems connected with third-world development because it is to be feared that in the long run countries which produce raw materials other than oil will themselves also be prompted to take steps which can only worsen the present crisis that is afflicting us so sorely.

179. The spirit of intransigence and intolerance which we note in international economic relations is also to be found in southern Africa.

180. The accession to power of the black majority in Zimbabwe was heralded by the international community as a great victory for democracy and an inestimable contribution to international peace and security in that sorely tried region. Alas, deaf to the insistent clamour of reason and of history, the white minority racists of Pretoria continue to practise the criminal policy of *apartheid* and to disregard the rights of the black majority in South Africa itself and in Namibia, in contempt for the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

181. *Apartheid* has been condemned by the United Nations and the international community as a crime against humanity. The authority, the leaders and the public institutions which continue to practise or implement a policy which has been declared criminal according to international law are criminal themselves and deserve no support at all by any member of the international community. All the acts by the white racist minority régime of Pretoria within the framework of the policy of *apartheid* are tainted with illegality and criminality. This is something which all Members of the United Nations must understand in order further to emphasize the political, diplomatic, economic and military isolation of the citadel of racism and *apartheid*.

182. The Republic of Zaire unequivocally condemns the policy of *apartheid* and the savage repression which is being visited upon the oppressed masses of South Africa which are in revolt, for nothing will stop the irreversible march of history. Our country, in solidarity with the independent African States of the region, which have accepted heavy sacrifices for the cause of the liberation of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, condemn most vehemently acts of aggression perpetrated unceasingly by South Africa against Angola, Zambia and Mozambique and urgently appeals to all countries which have dealings with South Africa to halt all commercial, economic, financial, military and nuclear co-operation with that nation.

183. With regard to Namibia, the Republic of Zaire notes the illegality of the occupation of that Territory by South Africa since the end of the mandate régime and considers that the basic question here is one not so much of negotiating Namibia's independence with South Africa as of implementing the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the plan for settling the Namibian question approved by the General Assembly and the Security Council and relating to South Africa's withdrawal from that Territory.

184. The Republic of Zaire reaffirms its support for SWAPO as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia and supports the efforts made by the United Nations Council for Namibia as the sole legal authority, with a view, on the one hand, to ensuring the independence of that Territory while respecting its territorial integrity and, on the other hand, to stopping the shameless pillage of Namibia's resources which is being indulged in by certain transnational corporations.

185. My country rejects South Africa's manoeuvres which would create through the so-called Turnhalle negotiations

an illegal and arbitrary Governmental Council at Windhoek with the aim of imposing a puppet Government in Namibia and perpetuating its occupation in that Territory, in spite of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and in spite of universal condemnation.

186. The tension which persists in North Africa with regard to Western Sahara is of concern to international and African opinion. My delegation welcomes the decision taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, which met at Freetown from 1 to 4 July 1980, requesting the OAU *Ad Hoc* Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara to continue to make the necessary efforts to reconcile the parties to the conflict and to find a peaceful, lasting solution to that thorny question [see A/35/463 and Corr.1, annex II]. My delegation is especially pleased by the obvious readiness and will shown by all parties concerned to embark upon negotiations and to take a full part in the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

187. We voice the hope that the heads of State or Government of the OAU, when they have before them the report and the recommendations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, which has just met in Freetown and which had an opportunity to hear all the parties concerned in the conflict, will be able to find a political, peaceful and lasting solution consistent with the legendary wisdom of Africa. We consider that international bodies should refrain from compromising the process initiated by the OAU in July of seeking a peaceful solution to this dispute. All nations of the world and all peace-loving forces should encourage and support the OAU in its efforts towards peace.

188. No one denies today that the situation that obtains in the Middle East is a serious and abiding threat to international peace and security. The question of Palestine is at the very core of the Middle East conflict.

189. The seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine gave us an opportunity to see that the Arab States, which 32 years ago had not accepted the terms of resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947 on the partition of Palestine, and the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] now accept the creation of an independent Arab State of Palestine and the terms of this resolution as guaranteeing their interests and constituting the basis for a final solution.

190. A universal consensus seems already to exist on the following points: first, the legitimacy of the struggle of the Palestinian people for the recovery of its rights, particularly the right to political and economic self-determination, the right to create an independent sovereign State and the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their lands; secondly, the central role of the Palestinian question in the Middle East dispute; thirdly, the representative character of the PLO and its right to participate in all efforts being made and in all deliberations and negotiations to determine the future of the Palestinian people on an equal footing with the other parties; fourthly, the need for respect for the international régime of the City of Jerusalem, the Holy Place of the three great monotheistic religions of the world, and the rejection of any unilateral actions and measures to annex it or alter its geographic, demographic and cultural characteristics; and

fifthly, the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied by force.

191. Strengthened by this general consensus, we should now seek the implementation of resolution 181 (II), of which the creation of Israel was a first step.

192. The Republic of Zaire vehemently condemns the policy of annexation of territories by force, the implantation of Jewish settlements in the Arab lands of Palestine, the denial of the right of return of the Palestinians and the unilateral measures for the annexation of the Holy City of Jerusalem recently adopted by the Israeli Government in violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

193. The Zaire delegation considers that the new approach which places the question of Palestine at the centre of the Middle East conflict and which advocates recognition of the right to self-determination and independence of the Arab people of Palestine supplements Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which remains an important basis of the quest for a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict.

194. The Republic of Zaire supports respect for the principles of the Charter and the rules of the law of the people. We have therefore said unequivocally to the authorities in Iran that the taking as hostages of persons whose inviolability is covered by diplomatic immunity, guaranteed and protected by the internationally recognized instruments which exist in this field, bears the seeds of serious threats with incalculable consequences for the future of relations of trust between nations and for the peace and security of all.

195. We have reminded the Iranian authorities that we, the peoples of the third world, who are continuing to wage a tireless struggle for the democratization of international relations, for the establishment of a more just and more equitable international order, protected from fear, arbitrary action and the rule of force, must accord great importance to respect for the rights of others and for internationally recognized and established principles governing relations and co-operation between peoples and modern States, bearing in mind the modest means that we have at our disposal, because we believe that we would be the great losers in a world without principles and without law.

196. That is why we have asked them and continue to ask them today to free the American hostages, safe and sound and without prior conditions. The Iranian revolution would emerge strengthened from such action. In saying this, the Republic of Zaire remains fully in favour of the independence of Iran, its sovereignty and the right of its people freely to determine its future.

197. The deterioration of relations between Iran and Iraq is of extreme concern to us, not only because it involves two brother members of the non-aligned movement, but also and in particular because this conflict is taking place in one of the most sensitive regions of the world, where any conflict can degenerate into disaster because of the rival interests of the great Powers.

198. No State in that Gulf region should assume direct or indirect responsibility for the destruction of the precarious balance that is being maintained with such difficulty.

199. We voice the hope that the appeal by the President of the Security Council¹³ will be heeded by all parties and that the good offices of the Secretary-General, who is always ready to mediate in such cases, will be accepted.

200. The situations in Afghanistan and Kampuchea constitute a threat to international peace and security. The invasion of Afghanistan by foreign troops has created a new situation in that part of the world. This region is today in a period of effervescence. The fear of the danger of destabilization has caused an intensification of the arms race and has aggravated tension between States. It is understood, moreover, that the occupation forces are reluctant to evacuate that country for fear of creating an imbalance to their disadvantage.

201. It is in this way that the vicious circle of violence begins, the consequences of which cannot be calculated, because although we know how to get into it, we do not know how to get out of it. It is precisely therein that the threat to international peace and security lies, particularly when the main protagonist is a great Power, a permanent member of the Security Council, with special responsibility under the Charter for maintaining international peace and security.

202. We ask the Soviet Union to abide by the terms of General Assembly resolution ES-6/2 of 14 January 1980 and to evacuate its troops from Afghanistan without prior conditions.

203. In resolution 34/22 the Assembly calls for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and implicitly supports the continued representation of Democratic Kampuchea at the United Nations.

204. The only question that really arises here is whether the United Nations has a choice between endorsing the invasion of Kampuchea by foreign troops by seating the Government installed in Phnom Penh by the invading and occupying troops, and refusing to endorse that invasion and allowing the legitimate Government overthrown by the invading and occupying troops to retain its seat in the United Nations.

205. The delegation of Zaire considers that the United Nations has no choice but to continue to recognize the Government of Democratic Kampuchea if it does not wish to weaken the very foundations of the Charter. Many States which defend this thesis have not necessarily supported the actions of the Pol Pot Government in Kampuchea, nor have they maintained special relations with it. Some Member States have attempted to approach this problem on the basis of the defence of human rights, accusing the Pol Pot régime of genocide.

206. The position of Zaire is unequivocal with regard to human rights. The sacred principle of human rights must be

defended by all available means. But certain States and organizations must stop turning this question into a political one, with the sole aim of interfering in the internal affairs of States for the purpose of destabilization.

207. Legitimacy is a matter for the peoples. The United Nations cannot confer any legitimacy whatsoever upon a Government against the wish of the people concerned.

208. According to some statistics, in 1980 \$500 billion will be spent on weapons—in other words, 10 per cent more than in 1979. Precisely 10 years ago, in 1970, the figure was nearly \$370 billion. Year by year, despite the declarations of intent to stop the arms race, military expenditures increase, thereby decreasing the sums made available for development and to improve living standards throughout the world, particularly the third world.

209. At a time when there is talk of launching the Second Disarmament Decade, we must denounce the hypocrisy of the great Powers—particularly the nuclear Powers—whose acts are not always in keeping with their declarations of intent.

210. The aims of resolution 2602 E (XXIV) of 16 December 1969, in which the Assembly proclaimed the First Disarmament Decade, are far from having been achieved. The arms race—particularly the nuclear arms race—is still being pursued; military expenditures, as can be seen, have grown at an alarming rate; hotbeds of tension have been increasing and flaring up, posing additional threats to international peace and security; the cold war is with us again and, unfortunately, the third world region has become its theatre of operations.

211. The great Powers are eyeing one another like porcelain dogs, and their desire for a balance of power constantly prevents them from abiding by their obligations concerning disarmament. One may thus wonder whether they have truly decided to heed the appeal of the former Secretary-General, U Thant, who declared in 1970 that any comprehensive disarmament programme must begin with a halt, immobilization or restriction of the nuclear arms race, followed by measures to reverse the process by reducing and ultimately eliminating nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

212. Here as elsewhere, we expect the great Powers—and, above all, the nuclear Powers—fully to demonstrate their attachment to the common ideal of peace; because, although disarmament is of concern to all nations of the world, it is only the armed who can be disarmed; indeed, the very possession of weapons can pose a problem to the immediate area or threaten it directly.

213. The Republic of Zaire pursues a policy of peace, good-neighbourliness and co-operation, and will spare no effort to contribute, to the extent of its modest means, to promoting disarmament. It supports the establishment of denuclearized zones as an important step towards general and complete disarmament. Those are the tenets of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa.¹⁴

¹³ Document S/14190. See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-Fifth Year, Resolutions and decisions*, "The situation between Iran and Iraq".

¹⁴ Adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU in 1964. See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 105, document A/5975.

214. The international community and the United Nations should pay closer attention to the problem of African refugees. Today, Africa is sheltering on its soil more refugees than any other continent. Of the 4 million refugees in Africa, Zaire alone is sheltering almost 1 million. If the refugees of Africa, who are straining the meagre resources of our developing States, could benefit from the same concern as all other refugees throughout the world, that would be an inestimable contribution to our development efforts. But whatever the situation, the Republic of Zaire will share its modest resources with the refugees it welcomes on its territory in the name of human solidarity.

215. My country has sheltered thousands of people fleeing from neighbouring countries during their struggle for independence. Our action was in consonance with a noble cause—that of freeing long-enslaved peoples from the colonial yoke. Unfortunately, a new category of refugees seems to have emerged: refugees guilty of common-law crimes but who, by fleeing from justice in their countries of origin, are enjoying protection and refugee status thanks to the unavowed desire of the host countries to destabilize young States eager to consolidate their independence.

216. Civilization is rooted in nature, and nature has moulded human culture and influenced all artistic and scientific works. Life in close contact with nature offers mankind the best chances of developing its creativity and of protecting and enjoying its moments of leisure.

217. The destruction of natural systems which results both from excessive consumption and the abuse of resources will surely cause life on our planet to perish. The preservation and protection of the environment thus become an ethical obligation of all members of the international community for the sake of present and future generations.

218. As the President of the Republic of Zaire, General Mobutu, declared at the twelfth session of the General Assembly of the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, at Kinshasa, in September 1975:

“We for our part are aware that we cannot do whatever we please with our forests, because they have an influence that goes beyond the limits of national territory. The seas, the oceans, the upper atmosphere are the property of the human community that cannot be considered as belonging to anyone or in which one can do as one pleases.”

219. With that in mind, Zaire has submitted to the General Assembly a draft World Charter for Nature [A/35/141, annex II]. This document, which is essentially technical, has ecological objectives. We call on all Member States to study it carefully and lend it their support, for what is at stake is the survival of all mankind.

220. I should like to refer to another subject, the law of the sea, a new law, the effectiveness of which depends upon its acceptance by the majority of the members of the international community. Despite the progress made as a result of the resumed ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the new version of the informal composite negotiating text has a number of short-

comings that impair drafting of the proposed convention. Among other things, the formula proposed for production policies and a compensation system in no way meets the concerns of producer countries, particularly producer and potential producer developing countries the economies of which are based essentially on the export of minerals. We continue to believe that those shortcomings will be remedied during the next stage of the negotiations.

221. Moreover, it is inconceivable that at a time when all the nations of the world are studying global measures to ensure an equitable distribution of what is commonly called the “common heritage of mankind”, some States are abusing their power and, by means of unilateral legislation, are starting to exploit the sea-bed for their exclusive benefit, thereby trampling underfoot the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

222. In any case, the tendency to replace one unjust order with another is unacceptable to us, to say the very least. In this regard, we consider that every State must make an effort to safeguard the goals sought by the future convention—goals which can only complement those enshrined in the Charter.

223. Daily, facts demonstrate that the Charter of the United Nations can be improved by being adapted to the new requirements of evolution. We particularly have in mind those provisions that are related to the maintenance of international peace and security, which concentrate all powers in the hands of a small number of States. The Charter should reflect the new situation that has resulted from an increased democratization of international relations, since it is a fact that the interdependence of States is inconceivable without a sharing of responsibilities.

224. If the initial enthusiasm of the Organization has somewhat diminished because of serious and varied situations that have arisen, that should be no cause for surprise in an Organization that includes States having such diverse economic and social systems and that legitimately aspires to ensuring co-operation among all the States that compose it, great or small, rich or poor, in a world that is dominated by fear, mistrust and inequalities of all kinds.

225. The United Nations constitutes the last bulwark in which peace-loving and justice-loving States may place their trust—I am referring in particular to the States of the third world—and it should be able to accommodate the emergence of young States on the international scene and the consequences thereof.

226. The Republic of Zaire wishes to avail itself of this opportunity once again to proclaim its faith in the principles of the Charter and its devotion to the aims and objectives of the United Nations.

227. Mr. PRADHAN (Bhutan): On behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf I should like to extend to Mr. von Wechmar warmest congratulations on his unanimous election to the high office of President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. We are fully confident in his personal ability to guide us in the tasks that will confront the General Assembly during his term of office. His election is a

fitting tribute to his great country, the Federal Republic of Germany, and to him personally. I should like also to extend our felicitations to the other members of the General Committee.

228. My delegation was highly appreciative of the constructive results achieved under the stewardship of Mr. von Wechmar's predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania. We owe him deep gratitude, and we wish him the very best in all his future endeavours.

229. I should like to take this opportunity to commend the Secretary-General for his unrelenting efforts in trying to maintain international peace and security. He has been able to face the tremendous challenges of his high office with timely and appropriate action, courage and consistency.

230. My delegation is very happy to join in warmly welcoming Saint Vincent and the Grenadines as the one hundred and fifty-fourth Member of the United Nations. We are certain that the Organization will benefit from its experience and participation in our work. Its membership brings us still closer to our goal of universality for the United Nations, a goal to which we attach high priority.

231. The Government and people of Bhutan are firmly committed to the ideals and principles of the Charter and to those of the non-aligned movement. We therefore seek as free people to live in peace and friendship with all nations and to develop our country in every sector of human endeavour in a manner we ourselves deem fit and proper. At the same time we will join with other peace-loving nations in an effort to build a world order based on respect for the sovereign equality of all nations, peaceful coexistence, justice and mutually beneficial co-operation. We will spare no effort in the quest for the maintenance of international peace and security, to which all peace-loving nations should be wholly committed. We firmly believe that, as is stated in the Declaration of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries,¹⁵ the quintessence of the policy of non-alignment is the rejection of all forms of subjugation, interference or intervention, direct or indirect, and of all pressures, whether political, economic, military or cultural, in international relations. In keeping with the true principles of non-alignment, we will continue to refuse to join any form of military alliance or power bloc.

232. The arms race is definitely the greatest folly that mankind has embarked upon, and concrete steps to halt and reverse the trend are long overdue. A study has determined that at present there exist more than 50,000 nuclear weapons, which have a destructive capacity a million times greater than that of the Hiroshima bomb. The number of people held hostage to the threat of nuclear catastrophe has reached 4.5 billion. In the 1980s, if present trends continue, military outlays are expected to exceed \$600 billion a year, even given the assumption that inflation will be checked. In every area of disarmament we continue to witness hindrances and a lack of progress. Since the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, three years have passed and little headway has been made in implementing the programme of action adopted at that session [see resolution S-10/2].

¹⁵ A/34/542, annex, sect I.

233. My delegation welcomes the declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade [resolution 34/75], and it hopes that concrete measures will be taken to reduce the already rapidly escalating expenditure on armaments, expenditure that could easily be channelled to helping developing nations surmount their adverse economic conditions. We must never forget that in the long run the true guarantee of international peace and security is the elimination of hunger and poverty.

234. The Asian situation is still one of crisis and turmoil. We cannot ignore or condone the situations resulting from interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States and from great-Power rivalries, as such developments go against the Charter and could very easily assume serious proportions. The peace and tranquillity conducive to the carrying out of tasks for economic and social betterment can come about only when foreign military presence is removed and the countries of the region agree genuinely to live within the framework of the undiluted principles of the Charter.

235. The question of turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, according to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], which could beneficially influence the establishment of permanent universal peace, has again been made more difficult because of the rivalries of the super-Powers and other vested interests. During the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean in July 1979, the Bhutanese delegation very clearly outlined the position of my Government. In brief, our position was, first, that the further escalation and expansion of the military presence of all Powers in the Indian Ocean should be halted; secondly, that all military bases and other military installations should be removed from the area; and, lastly, that there should be work towards realization of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. My delegation continues to maintain that position.

236. The ravaged war-torn region of the Middle East has so far been an area where all attempts towards achieving a lasting peace have failed. The problems seem to defy solutions. However, most of us believe that the vital element in achieving peace in the Middle East is the withdrawal by Israel from occupied Arab territories and the establishment of the sovereign independent State of Palestine. At the same time, we fully recognize the right of all States in the region to live within internationally recognized and secure boundaries. These are the only steps that will lead to a lasting peace and provide a true guarantee of the right of all States in the area to exist peacefully. At the seventh emergency special session called in July this year the General Assembly analysed the situation and the problems in the Middle East. We supported resolution ES-7/2 which emerged from that session. The international community, and especially those Governments in a position to do so, should continue their efforts to resolve the Middle East crisis peacefully within the framework of that resolution.

237. The eruption of the Iraqi-Iranian conflict has added yet another adverse dimension to the problem of peace in that part of the world. My delegation appeals to both sides to exercise maximum restraint and to permit immediate mediation by mutually acceptable parties. Here the good offices of the Secretary-General should be fully utilized. Our deep concern for the speedy solution of problems resulting

in military clashes is due to the possibility of such initial friction becoming more widespread and going beyond our capacity to contain them easily. Warfare and the use of the threat of force must be replaced by peaceful negotiations for the solution of international problems.

238. The peace-keeping involvement of the United Nations has contributed immensely to containing conflicts and reducing tension. At the same time, the humanitarian efforts again made under the auspices of the United Nations have helped in alleviating the suffering of many displaced peoples from war-torn areas. Such activities of the United Nations must continue and expand.

239. The Government and the people of Bhutan rejoice at the emergence of a sovereign independent Zimbabwe. That was a true victory over colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. Africa has been able to discard yet another shackle. However, the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa continues in total disregard of international law and opinion. The people of Africa have our complete support in their relentless struggle to do away with the vestiges of colonialism and the abhorred practice of *apartheid*. We are certain that it will not be long before the continent of Africa is completely emancipated.

240. We can no longer continue to tolerate the injustices resulting from the prevailing international economic order. The specific areas where injustice exists and the corrective measures that are required have crystallized. Only the lack of political will on the part of some countries is preventing the international community from implementing the measures for the creation of the new international economic order. It must also be realized that failure on our part to come to terms with, and consciously establish, a just and equal world economic order will give free play to several uncontrollable forces, which could upset the well-being of the developed societies themselves. Furthermore, we must also realize that the hungry and the poor may not remain forever silent and docile. The key to the solution is in the hands of the developed and other countries rich in capital and technology, and we urge them to take positive steps in the correct direction.

241. The eleventh special session of the General Assembly did not reach the expectations of the developing countries. However, the final outcome has a few positive elements. The consensus reached in respect of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade provides the international community with helpful guidelines, especially with regard to the nature, size and complexity of the tasks that need to be undertaken during the Decade. At the special session the Assembly also recognized the serious deficiencies in the economies of the least developed countries and called for immediate and increased assistance to that category of countries. Unless the structural weaknesses of the least developed countries are speedily removed, these countries will continue to register negative or negligible rates of growth. Special assistance has also been sought for the most seriously affected—the land-locked and the island developing countries. The Secretariat and the agencies concerned must now make every effort to fulfil the mandate given to them at the eleventh special session. Here bodies like UNCTAD can play a more posi-

tive role. We shall continue to support their endeavours to fulfil their international role and obligations.

242. In Bhutan, under the truly dynamic leadership of His Majesty King Jigme Singye Wangchuk, we are now in the process of launching our fifth Five-Year Plan. The twin objectives of our economic development continue to be the achievement of self-reliance and the raising of the living standards of our people. However, in the formulation of the programmes under this Plan we have taken into consideration the experience of the past which, among other things, shows that we must ensure that the benefits of development are more widespread and commensurate with our input. In the gigantic task of trying to achieve a better economic life-style for our people, we have been provided with assistance by several friendly nations and international organizations. Such assistance is essential to a country like ours, as assistance acts as a catalyst and leads to the ultimate achievement of the goal of self-reliance. With the availability of appropriate types of economic and technical aid, Bhutan, with its comparatively rich heritage of economically exploitable resources, can within a short span of time develop a self-generating economy. For instance, Bhutan has a huge hydroelectric power potential, forest and mineral resources, agricultural products and good possibilities in other fields. However, in order to make those sectors productive, initial input of external capital and technology is required.

243. Bhutan has the added disadvantage of being a land-locked country. Such a geographic situation has definitely retarded economic growth. Several severe handicaps must be removed before a land-locked country can achieve sustained economic progress. For example, adequate transit facilities have to be provided and transportation systems within the land-locked country and from the land-locked country to the ports of transit countries have to be made adequate and efficient. Most of the exports of land-locked countries become uncompetitive in international markets because of high transportation costs. My delegation hopes that all those countries in a position to do so will take steps to provide assistance to the least developed and the land-locked countries.

244. In conclusion, I should like to mention that one of the factors of the deteriorating international situation coupled with an unprecedented arms build-up is suspicion and distrust in each other's intentions, especially among the bigger countries. It is in this context that my delegation welcomes moves for initiating confidence-building measures, particularly among the power blocs. Such confidence-building measures should, however, also be initiated in other areas of the globe and especially among countries where potential for conflicts exists. Another factor is the failure at times to realize that the conduct of international relations between sovereign States has to be within the framework of international law. Besides, obstacles must not be put in the path of the attainment of the legitimate aspirations of self-determination by peoples. The community of nations, with the dawn of the realization of what is necessary for human survival, along with the appropriate political will, can definitely lead our peoples to a safer future and a happier and better world order.

245. Mr. SHAHI (Nepal): It is my privilege to convey to the President, Mr. von Wechmar, and through him to the

representatives, the greetings of my august sovereign, His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev, and his best wishes for the success of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I should like to extend to him my warm felicitations and those of the delegation of Nepal on his election as President of the current session of the General Assembly. We are confident that with his skill, wisdom and experience, he will guide the work of this session to a fruitful and successful conclusion. I wish to assure him of the full co-operation of my delegation in his efforts to that end.

246. I wish also to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to Ambassador Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania for the firmness and impartiality with which he conducted the business of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

247. Our principal compliments are due to the Secretary-General for his devotion to the ideals of the United Nations and the exemplary manner in which he has been discharging the heavy responsibilities pertaining to his high office.

248. We welcome Saint Vincent and the Grenadines as the newest Member of the United Nations. Its admission is a further step towards the universality of membership of this world Organization.

249. The decade of the 1980s has opened on a note of uncertainty, tension and conflicts on all fronts in international affairs. The most important contributing factor to this sad state of affairs has been the recent armed interventions. The process of détente has been seriously jeopardized, and there are increased military build-ups and renewed escalation of an already vicious arms race. Sharp divisions among the big Powers, armed conflicts in several areas and frustrations in our common search for a new international economic order continue to characterize current international relations.

250. Southern Africa continues to be one of the focal points of conflict in the relations between nations. In spite of the well-deserved achievement of independence by the people of Zimbabwe, the authorities of South Africa have refused to see the writing on the wall and to recognize the legitimate rights of the oppressed people, led by their national liberation movements, to human dignity, equality, self-determination and majority rule. My delegation remains steadfast in its support for the struggle against *apartheid* in South Africa. We deplore the refusal of the South African authorities to co-operate with the United Nations in implementing the plan for free and fair elections in Namibia. We fully support the struggle of the people of Namibia for national liberation, under the leadership of SWAPO.

251. The situation in the Middle East not only continues to be tense but has, in fact, deteriorated in the past several months. In keeping with our well-known position on this question, we support the right of every State in the area, including Israel, to live in peace and security within well-defined boundaries. However, a just and lasting settlement cannot be achieved unless the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, their right to participate as equals in any peace negotiation and their right to a separate State of their

own are recognized. The first prerequisite of a settlement is, of course, the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from the territories occupied since 1967. Nepal regrets the continuing and escalating policy of Israel to change the political, legal and demographic character of the occupied territories. Such actions militate against the norms of international law and the repeated calls of the United Nations. They not only have complicated the already difficult situation but have also had a negative impact on prospects for a peaceful solution of the Middle East problem.

252. The frequent armed attempts by Israel to undermine the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon continue to cause grave anxiety to all. As a contributor to UNIFIL, we once again urge Member States to co-operate with UNIFIL in restoring full Lebanese authority in the troubled areas. My delegation joins the Secretary-General in his appeal to those Governments which have not paid their assessed contributions to the UNIFIL account to reconsider their position. There should be no question that the financing of a duly authorized United Nations peace-keeping operation is the collective responsibility of all States Members of the United Nations.

253. We have noted with concern the sudden painful deterioration of the relations between two neighbouring countries, Iran and Iraq. We sincerely appeal to both of them to exercise maximum restraint and seek a peaceful solution of their problem. Escalation of violence between the two countries is bound to have a wider detrimental impact in the region.

254. On the question of Cyprus, a country torn apart as a result of extra-territorial interests of outside Powers, my delegation continues to favour the resumption of intercommunal negotiation under the auspices of the Secretary-General. We would support any political settlement based on strict respect for the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus.

255. With regard to the Korean question, my delegation continues to hold the view that the aspirations of the people of Korea to national reunification should be fulfilled peacefully by their own efforts, without any outside interference.

256. The arms race has escalated with renewed vigour, and this has been a matter of universal concern. The twentieth century has already witnessed two world wars and several other wars in between and after. The most intensive search for peace took place during this period, and the United Nations is the culmination of those efforts.

257. The advances in science and technology have resulted in the unprecedented accumulation of most lethal and destructive arms in national arsenals. It is ironical that the period that gave birth to the notion of general and complete disarmament also has been a period of the most vicious armament race in history. We have forgotten the twin lessons of history: one, that no nation ever enjoyed security in armament and, two, that arms accumulated have always been used at one point in time or another. The big Powers must take a major share of the blame for the arms race in the world. They cannot escape responsibility for the lack of progress in the deliberating and negotiating forums of the

United Nations. This stalemate has belied the hopes raised at the tenth special session of the Assembly, devoted to disarmament. The big Powers have also failed to honour the solemn commitments contained in the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water¹⁶ and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] towards a comprehensive test ban and a meaningful reduction of armaments. The freezing of the ongoing negotiations on strategic arms limitation not only is a clear indication of the failure of these Powers to live up to their undertakings but also has cast a dark shadow on the prospects for international peace and security. The amount of resources spent on the development and production of arms staggers our imagination. A fraction of those resources if utilized for peaceful and developmental purposes would go a long way in improving the world economic situation.

258. Nepal is a party to both the partial test ban Treaty and the Non-Proliferation Treaty. It has always supported the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace in many parts of the world. We are of the view, however, that the non-proliferation régime cannot long be sustained if it attempts to impose a discriminatory condition between nations in regard to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and if, at the same time, the big Powers fail to fulfil their corresponding obligations under that Treaty. The relentless vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons is bound to have a disastrous effect on horizontal proliferation. It will be a sad development indeed if, as a result of default by the big Powers, more and more threshold countries are encouraged to opt for nuclear weaponry.

259. The world continues to be faced with an equally grim scenario on the front of economic growth and stability. The economic condition of more than half of mankind has remained static; in fact it has considerably worsened. At the eleventh special session, there was general agreement on the grim reality of the international economic situation. However, negotiations on the new global round as well as on the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade once again brought home the fact that the long-term global outlook continues to be the victim of short-term domestic policies being pursued in developed countries. The nature and persistence of the present economic reality have reached a stage where the stagnation in the economic sector will entail wider and serious political repercussions. The Secretary-General has rightly observed in his report on the work of the Organization: "Peace is as much at stake in the discussions on economic questions as prosperity and a decent standard of living for all humanity" [*see A/35/1, sect. VIII*].

260. We deeply regret the failure to reach a consensus on procedure and a time-frame for the global round of negotiations. We earnestly hope that the developed countries will have the required political will to face the reality boldly and squarely and that the impasse faced at the eleventh special session will be overcome during this session, so that the global round of negotiations can be launched at the beginning of next year. We are confident that such negotiations will be instrumental in restructuring international economic relations.

261. The Second United Nations Development Decade failed to bridge the ever-widening gap between the developed and the developing countries. Against this backdrop, the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade has been drawn up. The present text is considerably weaker than we had hoped for. Yet we welcome the consensus on goals and objectives and on policy measures contained in this text as a framework for future negotiations. We view the section on the least developed countries in the Strategy as one of the positive features. The new Strategy calls for concerted and concrete action at the domestic and at the international level. Unless the developed countries boldly live up to the commitment they have made, the objectives enshrined in the new Strategy will remain unfulfilled.

262. The oil economy is now increasingly affecting the life of the peoples in developing and developed countries alike. We reaffirm the need for paying special attention to the growing requirements of the energy-importing developing countries. In this context, we earnestly hope that the oil-exporting countries will co-operate, substantially and in concrete terms, with the other developing countries, in particular the least developed among them. My delegation has always attached considerable significance to economic and technical co-operation among developing countries. In our considered view, the enormous potential latent in the developing world could be utilized for mutual benefit.

263. High rates of inflation, the adverse effect of fluctuation in the prices of primary commodities on the export earning of developing countries and the instability of the international monetary system have badly shaken the already precarious economic situation of most developing countries. These have been reinforced by growing unemployment and a food deficit caused by, among other things, natural calamities. While there is no immediate hope of respite from these problems, which are themselves of colossal magnitude, the prices of vital imports like oil and construction and development materials continue to rise sharply. The net flow of resources to the developing countries has further declined as a consequence of the failure of the major developed countries to fulfil their commitments to official development assistance in terms of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product.

264. The difficult situation facing the developing countries in general has further aggravated the problem of the least developed and land-locked countries. Most of the developing land-locked countries are also among the least developed, and their problems are of a basic structural nature. Therefore they should be given special attention, as a matter of priority, in any international assistance programme. Urgent additional measures should be undertaken to overcome the structural constraints impeding their growth. We appeal for the urgent implementation of the Immediate Action Programme for the Least Developed Countries adopted at the fifth session of UNCTAD.¹⁷ In resolution S-11/4, adopted unanimously at the eleventh special session, the General Assembly has also called for that step. The resources of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-

¹⁶ United Nations Treaty Series, vol. 480, No. 6964, p. 43.

¹⁷ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II. D.14), part one, sect. A, resolution 122 (V).

locked Developing Countries continue to be woefully meagre and utterly inadequate to meet the requirements of the developing land-locked countries. We appeal for more generous contributions to that Fund. We are hopeful that the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, to be convened next year, will agree on positive and substantial measures to help those countries.

265. At its recently concluded ninth session the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has made some progress, although we feel that the negotiations have been painfully slow-moving. Agreement has been possible on several key elements of a new régime on the sea. Nepal continues to believe that the new régime will be meaningful only if it is universally recognized that the entire resources of the seas belong to humanity as a whole and constitute a common heritage of mankind. That is the principal idea behind our proposal for the establishment of a common heritage fund. Recognition of the right of free access to and from the sea for land-locked countries will have to form an essential part of the new régime.

266. I should like to refer now to the events in the regions adjoining my own. I allude to the events of far-reaching consequence in Kampuchea and Afghanistan, events which I consider to be the most serious developments in the contemporary world. Those developments at present constitute a serious threat to the peace and security of the world, not to mention the peace and security of the neighbouring areas.

267. As we all know, this grave situation has arisen as a result of armed intervention in those two non-aligned countries. Non-interference in the internal affairs of another country is the most fundamental principle in relations between States. Observance of this principle alone implies respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of another State and the right of its people to self-determination. Once that principle is violated, the basic norm of behaviour among States is broken, the sovereignty of another State and the inalienable right of its people are contemptuously disregarded; the trust which is reposed in a State as a responsible member of the international community is also lost. Therefore Nepal has always held that of all the principles which govern inter-State relationships and which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, the principle of non-interference in the domestic matters of another State is the one which must not be violated in any situation or under any pretext.

268. The nature of a particular Government or its actions and policies, the conditions prevailing in another country, the suspected designs of foreign Powers in that country—none of those factors gives any State the right to interfere in the affairs of another. I must submit that even the plea of self-defence and security does not justify armed intervention, much less continued occupation by armed forces of other States. There are ways provided in the Charter and under international law for States to seek redress of grievances.

269. The United Nations would be failing in its duty if it did not continue to press for political settlements in both Kampuchea and Afghanistan on the basis of resolutions adopted by the Organization. There should be no giving in to the concept of *fait accompli*. In such situations nothing

will be accomplished if it is not acceptable to the people of the countries concerned. The first prerequisite in any political settlements in Kampuchea and Afghanistan is, I need not stress, the total, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign forces. That should be the only basis for any solution.

270. As a non-aligned country, Nepal has full faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter and the moral efficacy of the world Organization. For us, the principles and purposes of the Charter are represented in the principle of non-interference and the ideals of peaceful coexistence among countries with various political, economic and social systems, peaceful resolution of conflicts between nations and meaningful co-operation among States. These principles and ideals are, for us, both moral and practical.

271. By the scrupulous application of those ideals we have endeavoured to establish friendly and co-operative relations with our neighbours and friends. This is our contribution to the climate of peace and good will in the region and the world at large. It is in this context that we have welcomed the idea of the President of Bangladesh for regional co-operation. The region is rich in vast manpower and inexhaustible natural resources. Nepal is prepared to join in any prudent and wise exploitation and development of these resources in the firm belief that it will serve the interests not only of Nepal but also of the whole region.

272. Good-neighbourliness in the region and good relations among the countries of the region should be reflected in concrete co-operation and full understanding of each other's views, problems and aspirations. That was the reason for the recent visit of His Majesty King Birendra to the neighbouring countries and other countries of the region. His Majesty's visit has been followed by other visits which we have undertaken at the official level.

273. We have pursued a policy of always seeking and respecting the views of other countries so that a co-ordinated approach is developed in regard to bilateral, regional and global issues. This is our way of promoting better understanding, mutual co-operation and collective self-reliance, the traditional ideals motivating the policies of all our neighbours and friends.

274. The ultimate expression of Nepal's domestic and foreign policy objective is reflected in our proposal that Nepal be declared a zone of peace. This proposal is consistent with Nepal's traditional quest for peace and development and consistent also with the principles of the United Nations and the ideals of non-alignment. This is our way of consolidating relations and promoting co-operation with all our neighbours and friends.

275. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before giving the floor to the representative of Pakistan, who has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply, I should like to remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes and should be made by representatives from their seats.

276. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): At the meeting held yesterday afternoon, certain unwarranted allegations were made

against Pakistan which have prompted my delegation to speak in exercise of its right of reply.

277. It was alleged that there had been "hostile activities emanating from the territories of the neighbouring countries" of Afghanistan against the latter "with the connivance and even tacit support and encouragement of the authorities of these countries" [11th meeting, para. 140].

278. Before I refute categorically this baseless allegation against my country, I wish to make it clear that it has been the consistent policy of Pakistan to seek cordial relations with Afghanistan, in keeping with the centuries-old ties of faith, culture and common traditions which exist between the peoples of the two countries. In seeking co-operation with Afghanistan, Pakistan has always been motivated by sentiments of good will, friendship and Islamic brotherhood, and has always scrupulously respected the principle of non-interference in internal affairs in its relations with that country. It was in the same spirit that Pakistan was the first Islamic country to recognize the Government of the late President Taraki following the changes in Afghanistan in April 1978. Soon after, the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, on his own initiative undertook a visit to Kabul in order to reassure its new leadership of Pakistan's continuing desire for friendly relations with Afghanistan.

279. As a result of the internal political problems which followed the April 1978 changes in Afghanistan, the neighbouring countries of Afghanistan had been receiving a constant influx of Afghan refugees. This exodus assumed great proportions during the massive foreign armed intervention in Afghanistan last December.

280. Most of those refugees are poor and middle-class people who are victims of repression and a massive violation of human rights and who have been forced to leave their homes to seek shelter in neighbouring Pakistan and Iran. Their number in Pakistan alone has exceeded 1 million. The influx of Afghan refugees has imposed a considerable burden on our already strained and scarce resources, but we in Pakistan cannot shirk from providing them with asylum and the basic necessities of life, because we regard it as our humanitarian, Islamic and international responsibility.

281. Our humanitarian concern for the Afghan refugees is in keeping with universally accepted values, principles and practices, as well as in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

282. The problem of Afghan refugees is not the creation of any action on the part of Pakistan. It is a direct result of the sustained uprising and struggle of the people of Afghanistan against alien domination and the imposition of values repugnant to their faith and traditions. This is an entirely internal phenomenon of Afghanistan, rooted in the Afghan people's devotion to their faith and their glorious tradition of preserving their freedom.

283. The gravity of the Afghan situation, which transcends any bilateral dimensions and is fraught with grave international consequences, has evoked the deep concern of the international community.

284. The existence, to which I have already referred, of 1 million Afghan refugees in neighbouring Pakistan and Iran is one inseparable facet of this grave situation.

285. Accordingly, resolution ES-6/2, adopted at the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly on 14 January, and the resolutions adopted at the two sessions of the Islamic Conference held in January and May last, have stressed humanitarian concern at the plight of those refugees and called for the creation of the right conditions for their return to their homeland in safety and honour. It is our hope that such conditions will soon be created and the Afghan refugees will be able to return to their homeland with complete assurances of their safety and freedom. We also wish to express our gratitude to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and to international humanitarian organizations and friendly countries who are assisting the efforts of the Government of Pakistan to alleviate the hardship faced by those unfortunate people.

286. The allegation that Pakistan is encouraging the Afghan refugees who have fled from persecution and repression to carry out acts of subversion in Afghanistan is entirely baseless. It is a myth that has time and again been refuted by the Government of Pakistan. While refuting those allegations in categorical terms, the Government of Pakistan had offered the stationing of United Nations or Islamic and non-aligned peace-keeping forces along the border. It had also declared that the Afghan refugee camps were open for international inspection. In fact, those camps are frequently visited by representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, whose reports are available in the relevant United Nations records.

287. This offer alone should suffice to expose the fallacy of the allegation of "outside interference" against Pakistan. I may also mention that our frontier with Afghanistan, which is 1,400 miles long, passes through the most difficult terrain in the world and is inhabited by tribal people of the same ethnic composition on both sides of the border. Those people have for centuries enjoyed free movement across this mountainous frontier, which is crisscrossed by hundreds of mountain trails. It is a physical impossibility to seal that border completely to stop the movement of Afghan refugees who have sought shelter in Pakistan.

288. If the Kabul authorities think that Pakistan has not been able to seal that border, nothing prevents the Kabul authorities from doing so on their side of the frontier.

289. In conclusion, my delegation would like to emphasize Pakistan's commitment to co-operate with other peace-loving nations for a peaceful political settlement of the Afghanistan crisis. In this regard, it is our earnest hope that all parties concerned, especially the Kabul authorities, will respond to the most constructive and realistic initiatives taken by the General Assembly and by the Islamic Conference. We feel that a positive response in that regard will demonstrate their respect for the verdict of the international community, especially for the opinion and desire of the Islamic countries.

The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.